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11 April 1986

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

| | |
|---|---|
| Soviet Embassy Receives Delegation, Refuses Armenian Protest (ALIK, 26 Feb 86) | 1 |
| Greek Notables Endorse Communique Supporting Armenian Cause (ALIK, 3 Mar 86) | 3 |
| Turkey Said To Seek 'New Policy' Toward Armenian Question (ALIK, 4 Mar 86) | 5 |
| 'Armenian Genocide' Discussed at European Parliament (AZTAG, 6 Mar 86) | 8 |

ARAB AFRICA

EGYPT

| | |
|---|----|
| Editorial Hails Mubarak's Gradual Approach (Anis Mansur; AL-AHRAM, 8 Feb 86) | 10 |
| Plans for New Colleges Discussed (Editorial, Anis Mansur; AL-AHRAM, 11 Feb 86) | 12 |
| Laws to Cleanse Islamic Atmosphere Urged (Editorial; AL-AHRAM, 14 Feb 86) | 14 |
| Corruption Cases No Longer Covered-Up (Editorial, Salah Muntasir; AL-AHRAM, 15 Feb 86) | 16 |

WESTERN SAHARA

| | |
|---|----|
| Paper Views Prospects for Peace Summit (Frederic Fritscher; LE MONDE, 4 Mar 86) | 18 |
| SDAR Ambassador on Western Sahara Conflict (NOTICIAS, 25 Feb 86) | 20 |
| 10th Anniversary Celebration Detailed (Jean de la Gueriviere; LE MONDE, 28 Feb 86) | 22 |

ARAB EAST/ISRAEL

ISRAEL

| | |
|--|----|
| Sharon Reveals Secret Talks With Peres (YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 18 Feb 86) | 26 |
| Large Increase in Histadrut Budget Planned (Hayim Be'ur; DAVAR, 14 Feb 86) | 28 |
| Paper Reports on Presence 'Ananda Marg' Sect (Arye Qizel; MA'ARIV, 10 Feb 86) | 29 |
| Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Frayj Profiled (Amos Gilbo'a; MA'ARIV, 14 Feb 86) | 30 |
| Establishment of Coptic College Contested (Akiva Alder; HA'ARETZ, 14 Feb 86) | 38 |
| Education Minister, Broadcasting Committee View Shutdown of TV (Lili Galili; HA'ARETZ, 14 Feb 86) | 40 |
| Agricultural Sector Faces Serious Debt Problem (YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 18 Feb 86) | 41 |
| Economy Said Not Ready for Growth (YEDI'OT AHARONOT, 18 Feb 86) | 43 |
| Samaritan Community Threatened With Extinction (Sarah Honig; THE JERUSALEM POST, 23 Feb 86) | 48 |
| Employment Situation in Territories Discussed (Yakir Tzur; GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE, 24 Feb 86) | 49 |
| Jordan Rift Settlements in Financial Distress (Menahem Horowitz; THE JERUSALEM POST, 6 Mar 86) | 52 |
| Nationalist Sentiments Among Arabs Increase (Shefi Gabai; GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE, 6 Mar 86) | 53 |
| Decline in Caliber of IDF Personnel Reported (Yigal Lev; GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE, 6 Mar 86) | 55 |

| | |
|--|----|
| IDF Operational Norms Criticized (Reuven Pedatzur; GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE, 6 Mar 86) | 58 |
|--|----|

SAUDI ARABIA

| | |
|---|----|
| Director General of Railroads Reviews Future Plans (Faysal al-Shuhayl Interview; 'UKAZ, 11 Jan 85) | 61 |
| Official Discusses Functions of Labor Offices (Ahmad al-Tahya Interview; 'UKAZ, 11 Jan 86) | 68 |

SOUTH ASIA

BANGLADESH

| | |
|---|----|
| Reportage on Ershad's 3 March Radio, Television Speech (Various sources, 3 Mar 86) | 73 |
| Text of Speech | 73 |
| Political Parties, Leaders React | 79 |
| Detailed Schedule for Elections Announced (THE BANGLADESH TIMES, 3 Mar 86) | 82 |

IRAN

| | |
|---|----|
| Emigre Paper Analyzes New Offensive Launched by Regime (Mesbahzadeh; London KEYHAN, 20 Feb 86) | 83 |
|---|----|

PAKISTAN

| | |
|--|-----|
| Government Accused of Neglecting National Problems (Ibnul Hasan; NAWA-I-WAQT, 1 Jan 86) | 86 |
| Baluchistan's Political Situation Examined (Aziz Bhatti; NAWA-I-WAQT, 1 Feb 86) | 88 |
| Commentary on PPP Conflict in Punjab (Sheikh Riaz Pervez; NAWA-I-WAQT, 1 Feb 86) | 90 |
| Banking Urged Not to Politicize Headquarters Locations (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 7 Feb 86) | 92 |
| Afghan Revolution Said Spreading to Pakistan (Nafees Siddiqi; JANG, 10 Feb 86) | 94 |
| India's Sincerity in Befriending Pakistan Doubted (Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 11 Feb 86) | 97 |
| Wali Khan, Tufail Mohammad Seen Spreading Factional Strife (Jumma Khan; AMN, 11 Feb 86) | 99 |
| Martial Law Blamed for Sind Problems (Editorial; JASARAT, 11 Feb 86) | 102 |

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

SOVIET EMBASSY RECEIVES DELEGATION, REFUSES ARMENIAN PROTEST

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 26 Feb 86 p 2

[Text] At 10 am on February 5, a 3-man Armenian delegation paid a previously arranged visit to the Soviet Embassy in Buenos Aires and was received by embassy counselor Viktor Rachenko and Consul Nikolai Boznikov (the ambassador, Oleg Kvasov, was away in the Soviet Union).

The purpose of the delegation was to comment on Paragraph 24 of the Whitaker report which was endorsed by the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the UN Human Rights Commission last August and the well-known stance of Soviet expert Sofinski and to convey to the Soviet mission the resentment caused among Armenians in the diaspora.

Let us mention that on January 15 the Soviet embassy was delivered a memorandum which referred to the indifference displayed by Sofinski and the Soviet delegation with respect to the recognition of the Armenian genocide at the subcommission's meeting in Geneva and which asked the embassy to convey to the Soviet government the protests and the displeasure of the Armenians of the diaspora.

During the 1-hour meeting at the embassy, members of the Armenian delegation conveyed the following explanations to the Soviet officials:

--The protest that has been made applies in particular to the stance of Soviet expert Vsevolod Sofinski at the UN subcommission's meeting in Geneva.

--The international recognition of the genocide is of importance to all segments of the Armenian nation.

--In the Whitaker report, the part that was of most interest to the subcommission meeting, the international press and the world public opinion was the Armenian question.

--The mention of the Armenian genocide in the Whitaker report was the culmination of many years of struggle and effort.

--At the meeting in Geneva, Turkey fought directly against the Armenians and waged an intensive propaganda and persuasion campaign among the members of the subcommission.

--Soviet expert V. Sofinski and the Soviet delegation in general displayed an indifferent attitude, and not only did they not make any positive comments

Sofinski became the only one who voted against the resolution endorsing the Whitaker report.

The Soviet embassy representatives responded to these comments by stating that the Soviet Union condemns genocide wherever it occurs and that the Soviet Union was itself subjected to genocide in World War II and lost 20 million of its citizens. (Consul Boznikov said, "Nine members of my own family were killed" apparently trying to say: "Why are you raising such a clamor?")

Mr Rachenko asked: "How many victims did the Armenians lose? Five-hundred thousand?"

The members of the Armenian delegation replied that the Armenians lost 500,000 people during World War II, that in 1915 they lost 1.5 million and that in the latter case it was not a war but an organized genocide.

Finally, the Soviet officials said that the Soviet Union wants peace among nations and that on the issue of territorial rights it remains committed to the national borders created in the aftermath of World War II.

Mr Rachenko asked: "How will you return to [your] lands? By war?" He added that it is necessary to forget all these for the sake of peace because there are many other nations which have their own demands.

The members of the Armenian delegation stated that their only objective is to convey our protest to the Soviet government in connection with Sofinski's negative stance. They added that other issues related to the Armenian question can be discussed on another occasion and that the issue that is of interest to us at the moment is the international recognition of the Armenian genocide.

The Soviet embassy officials stated that they have no information about the Geneva meeting, that they cannot accept the protest and that the protest must be made directly to the Soviet delegates in Geneva or the Soviet government.

The Armenian delegation responded that Armenian National Committee representatives in Geneva have had several meetings with the Soviet expert and other members of the Soviet delegation and that, however, those delegates have not spoken out against the Armenian genocide.

The Soviet officials reiterated that they cannot accept the note of protest and convey it to their government and that the Armenian delegation must deliver its note of protest directly to Moscow.

The members of the Armenian delegation stated that their impression was that the way to contact any government was through its embassy. They added that the Armenian genocide has gained wide acceptance in the world public opinion and that embassies of many nations, regardless of what bloc they belong to, have received Armenian delegations appealing to them with good will and have conveyed to their governments the questions submitted by the Armenians--except, of course, the Turkish embassy which has always refused to receive Armenian delegations.

The delegation thanked Messrs. Rachenko and Boznikov and departed from the embassy.

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

GREEK NOTABLES ENDORSE COMMUNIQUE SUPPORTING ARMENIAN CAUSE

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 3 Mar 86 p 2

[Text] Thanks to the initiative of and many months of work by the ARF [Armenian Revolutionary Federation] Armenian National Committee in Greece, 55 prominent individuals in political, intellectual, academic, artistic and cultural spheres in Greece expressed their complete support and solidarity for the Armenian genocide and the restoration of the Turkish-occupied Armenian ancestral lands to their rightful owners, the Armenian people.

The members of the Armenian National Committee in Greece took this initiative within the framework of the work conducted with regard to the 70th anniversary of the Armenian genocide. The work to contact the said individuals, to meet them, to talk to them and to secure their signatures expressing solidarity took many months.

The said 55 individuals signed a communique-resolution presented to them by the Armenian National Committee. We present the text of the communique separately below.

Gathering in Armenian House in Athens

On February 13, a gathering was held in the Armenian House in Athens featuring the culmination of many months of work by the ARF Armenian National Committee in Greece, namely the expression of solidarity for the Armenian cause by 55 prominent individuals in Greek life.

Present at the gathering in the Armenian House were about 35 Greek and foreign journalists and reporters including the correspondents of channels 1 and 2 of ERT [Greek Radio and Television Corporation] and the Athens News Agency as well as the deputy Athens bureau chief of the French news agency and representatives of the English-language ATHENS NEWS and other foreign newspapers.

The Greek television, radio and press reported extensively on the initiative of our committee.

The gathering organized by the Armenian National Committee was reported on ERT's Channel 2 at 6 pm and on Channel 1 at 9 pm. The reports carried pictures depicting the genocide and the Armenian cause from the "publications corner" of the room where the gathering was held. The reports also carried segments of the coomunique signed by the 55 dignitaries and the names of the signatories.

At 8 pm that day, the radio station carried a long broadcast featuring a report by correspondent Apostopoulou and an interview with Shahan Farachian.

After welcoming the journalists on behalf of the ARF Armenian National Committee in Greece and briefing them about the significance of the day's event, Farachian talked briefly about the discussion of the Armenian question at the European Parliament, the positive stance of Greek parliamentarians in that forum and the pro-Armenian statements made by Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Thedoros Bankalos.

Text of Communique

Seventy years ago, in April 1915, a crime was committed against a nation, the Armenians, with the consent and cooperation of the Great Powers. Taking advantage of the confusion created by World War I, the Young Turks attempted to rid themselves of the peoples which, despite centuries of servitude, had lost neither their national identity nor their will to revive their national cause. During that period, 1.5 million Armenians were exterminated irrespective of age or gender and a systematic campaign was undertaken to destroy all monuments which could document the imposing presence of an ancient nation with a great civilization.

Those who survived the genocide of 1915 and rebuilt their nation tenaciously preserved their national identity and kept up their hope for the just resolution of their national cause, and today, 70 years after the massacre of their ancestors, they call upon humanity to reevaluate its responsibilities. Silence about the Armenian genocide has opened the way for similar tragedies, such as the Nazi attempt to exterminate another nation 40 years ago and, more recently, the attempt to obliterate Hellenism in Cyprus by the successors of the perpetrators of the 1915 genocide.

With this communique we wish:

- a) To honor with the Armenians the memory of the victims of the 1915 genocide;
- b) To underscore our solidarity with Armenians, to condemn the genocide and the violation of international standards of human rights and to demand the restoration of historic facts;
- c) To express our solidarity with the struggle of the Armenian people for a peaceful resolution of the Armenian question and the restoration to this people of their ancestral lands.

9588
CSO: 4605/24

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKEY SAID TO SEEK 'NEW POLICY' TOWARD ARMENIAN QUESTION

Tehran ALIK in Armenian 4 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] [Editor's note:] Below we present a very interesting article by Mehmet Ali Birand which appeared in MILLIYET's 18 December edition. Birand is already well-known among Armenians.

The article is noteworthy for several of its features which must not escape the attention of Armenian historians, jurists, political scientists and party officials. The article speaks explicitly about a policy of "gaining time" with several objectives such as indoctrinating the Turkish public opinion, reshaping the world public opinion in favor of the Turkish viewpoint and to open Turkish government archives in order to refute allegations of genocide. The article adds that all this will be done by a "suitable body of international experts who enjoy the respect and trust of the entire world."

Birand says that such historic and scientific research may help Turkey to gain 10 to 15 years of time and that during that time Turkey may establish a new balance. Otherwise, Birand asks, how much longer can Turkey continue to keep up its pressure on all fronts? He thus proposes an imperative new policy for Turkey out of concern that it may get tired one day. A new method of operation and a new policy!

Armenian organizations that have been campaigning against Turkey wish to see Ankara react strongly against its Western allies so that a deterioration may result first in its relations with its European allies and later its ties with the United States.

In other words, through these provocations they would like to bring about a gradual isolation of Turkey and a growing bitterness between Turkey and its allies. They want to create such a situation, that is, to alienate Turkey from the West, because it would be much easier to demand compensation or territory from a Turkey that is isolated and grown bitter with its allies than from a country that is surrounded by friends.

Consequently, Turkey must be careful not to be carried away by such conspiracies and tricks. It must calculate its responses very carefully and it must think about the form, mode and degree of its responses very prudently. But frankly speaking, we must state that these calculations have apparently never been carried out properly.

It is time for Turkey to select a new approach and perspective.

Today, Turkey is confusing two issues which must be differentiated:

- 1) The world public opinion and the Turkish public opinion are evaluated using the same methods and the same yardsticks.

In the Turkish public opinion a void of ignorance existed with regard to the Armenian question. This void was easily filled thanks to a public which is receptive to Turkish views and which does not like asking too many questions. The information that was provided was easily digested by the public despite its crude and disorganized form.

However, such a void did not exist in the foreign public opinion, because in the course of years the Armenians had filled that void with allegations of a so-called "genocide" while Turkey did not even make an appearance in that domain. Consequently, when Turkey insists today that what is being said is untrue and that a "genocide" never took place it finds that that is not enough to convince everyone. Ankara's graduated response in the last few years, its slow emergence from its shell to appear in international forums and conferences and its attempts to defend its thesis using such leading scholars as Ataov, Gurun and Soysal have begun to alter certain conceptions in our favor and something has begun to change in the world public opinion.

We believe that in time these changes will become more tangible.

- 2) The second instance where Turkey confuses two different issues which must be differentiated is the issue of Armenian terrorism and the historical perspective of the problem, i.e. the allegation of "genocide."

Against Armenian terrorism we can always find support from both the West and the East, but that alone would not solve the problem. In fact, for us the fundamental problem is that we must first of all refute the stubborn allegations made with regard to a genocide. For that, Turkey needs time, and the best means of gaining time is the method proposed by Metin Toker, namely to open the Ottoman archives and to refute all charges in the light of the documentation in those archives. We believe that it would be beneficial to announce that all documents in the said archives would be examined and published down to the last detail.

Of course, all archives would not be opened nor would everyone wishing to see them be allowed to examine them and to use them as he likes. A group of internationally respected and trusted historians which we approve would be formed and no one would be able to object to that body.

This way, Turkey would be able to gain at least 10 to 15 years. During that time we can publish documents and papers which command credibility while establishing a new balance in the void filled by the Armenians using a systematic propaganda campaign. The least we would gain from this enterprise is that the world public would see that the issue has another side which deserves ponderance or at least some consideration in order to reach a just solution.

If such an environment can be created in the coming years there will no longer be any need to make such extraordinary efforts to defend our cause and ourselves against assaults and charges brought against us in the U.S. Congress or in the European Parliament. Otherwise, we must not forget that although the Armenian resolution has been withdrawn from Congress for the moment for strategic and other reasons and has been suspended indefinitely, it may be tabled again tomorrow as soon as the restraining pressures subside. Because neither Turkey nor Congress nor the U.S. Administration can keep up the present level of pressure; some day the issue will surely cool down and the pressures will subside. The Reagan administration cannot continue waging its campaign in its present form and remain dominant for too many months.

It is time to begin considering a long-term strategy and adopt a policy to which all the means at the disposal of the government must be committed.

9588

CSO: 4605/22

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

'ARMENIAN GENOCIDE' DISCUSSED AT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 6 Mar 86 p 3

[Text] The genocide perpetrated by the Turks against the Armenians in the period between 1915 and 1917 was included in the agenda of the 22 January session of the European Parliament's Political Committee despite Turkish efforts to prevent the issue from being discussed. The Turks obviously failed because the committee spent 6 hours, sometimes amid intense debate, examining a report-resolution prepared by Belgian parliamentarian Vandemeulbruch who is also the head of the "rainbow coalition" in the European Parliament. The report was submitted to the Political Committee at the end of last year. The report states explicitly that the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians must be classified as a "crime. The report further says that justice must be restored for the Armenian people and that Turkey must be condemned for this crime.

The Belgian parliamentarian ends his report with the following sentence: "Only then will the Armenian people recover its national identity and justice."

The debate on the Armenian genocide which took several hours strongly underscores the fact that the Armenian question must win the unanimous sympathy of the parliamentarians. That is why the parliamentarian who prepared the report did not focus his thesis exclusively on the Armenian genocide but also spoke about the condition of Armenians in the Soviet Union, Iran, Iraq and Lebanon and the difficulties that have been overcome.

Forty-five parliamentarians were present at the 22 January session of the European Parliament's Political Committee. Also present at the session were the coarse and biased voices intent on defending Turkey or minimizing its crimes.

The defenders of the Turkish viewpoint based their arguments on the question of what need there is to resurrect events that have taken place 70 years ago and to jeopardize the already weakened relations between the EEC and Turkey.

Such arguments were brought by British, German and Dutch and a few Italian parliamentarians who tried to justify not only the genocide committed against the Armenians but also Turkish crimes committed against Kurds and the invasion of Cyprus.

At the core of these parliamentarians' arguments was the premise that the goal of the massacres perpetrated against the Armenians was not a genocide and that they were the result of wartime incidents in 1915.

French socialist parliamentarians as well as all the Greek parliamentarians spoke out against the parliamentarians who expressed these viewpoints and who are members of right-wing groupings in the European Parliament.

Sources in the European Parliament have indicated that the Armenian question is an arousing issue for political circles in the parliament and that it has caught the attention of those circles.

Armenian national committees have also been working intensively in this area and have evidently scored a number of successes.

The fact that the European Parliament spent more than 5 hours on this issue at a time when 35 items were on the agenda waiting their turn to be considered and the fact that the parliamentarians ignored session chairman Italian Christian Democrat Formiconi's frequent interruptions to end the debate earlier and continued the debate indicate that the issue has created considerable interest among these circles.

The right-wing grouping proposed that Vandemeulbruch make some changes on Item 6 on the agenda, which was the issue of the Armenian genocide, and resubmit it at the committee's next session (the committee meets once each month) with the changes made along the proposals that have been put forward. Naturally, these proposals have no binding force on the reporter. He can resubmit his report unchanged at the Political Committee's next meeting.

The secretariat of the session believes that although, in principle, the issue of the Armenian genocide must be submitted to the February session of the committee its discussion may be postponed for 2 months because of a backlog of agenda items.

While these deliberations were held in camera in the session hall, a Turkish delegation consisting of 30 persons waited outside impatiently for the outcome of the meeting. They waited to contact their pro-Turkish friends as well as to guide them, to pressure them and--why not?--to bribe them.

The Armenian Revolutionary Federation's Armenian National Committee was also present with its members in order to monitor closely the results of its years of work.

9588

CSO: 4605/23

EGYPT

EDITORIAL HAILS MUBARAK'S GRADUAL APPROACH

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 8 Feb 86 p 20

[Editorial by Anis Mansur]

[Text] President Husni Mubarak has adopted two principles for his domestic and foreign policy.

On the domestic scene, he has endeavored to seek the continuation of stability and the stabilization of this policy of continuation. The transition of power to him was a peaceful one, and his conduct of Egypt's affairs has also been peaceful. This has been true in spite of the huge social, political, and economic difficulties he has been faced with. He has tried to have everything be accomplished gradually and has become a model for men of authority and those who are members of his party.

When dealing with the media attacks on Egypt, he has been modest in the statements he has made. He has refused to engage in gutter language. Persons writing for the press have followed his lead in his confrontation with Syria and Libya, but we members of the press have not been modest in the statements which we have made to each other--that is, the opposition newspapers and the national [pro-government] newspapers have not been modest in their statements made to each other, nor has this been true of the opposition and the government. The modest statements which have been made have been for export rather than for domestic consumption. Whoever buys a newspaper can see how Egyptians themselves are heaping abuse on their government, their opposition groups, and their own nation. They can also see how much Egypt hopes for stability and is anxious to have democracy. For the first time we have the feeling that the press is a fourth estate which is threatening the other centers of authority through exercising its power by means of intimidation, terror, and exposes.

A few days ago Libya stopped its attacks against the Egyptian government and the Egyptian people. Whatever the reasons were which impelled President al-Qadhdhafi to do this, they represent a first step toward people following a rational approach.

Egypt and Libya differ concerning many issues. So be it. We have two different approaches when it comes to friendship and enmity. So be it. If we want to improve relations as well as restore them and consolidate them, then there are other means to do so.

I have always been greatly in favor of seeing the borders between Egypt and Libya as well as between Egypt and Syria be opened up, and I have always been in favor of having us open our arms, our hearts, and our minds as well. We have no expansionist dreams. We only want to be good neighbors. We want only to have cultural interaction and peaceful coexistence. We want Egyptians to be able to go to Syria and Libya, and we want Libyans and Syrians to be able to come to Egypt. If we cannot have a romantic friendship, then we can at least have mutual interests which are beneficial and useful to the two sides involved.

If Egypt is not being insulted, this does not necessarily mean that Egypt is being loved. This merely represents a humble beginning in the right direction. But the solution is to have positive steps taken. So let us have Egypt be the first nation to take such positive steps, because Egypt is the largest of the countries involved, and somebody has to be the first to do something!

9468
CSO: 4504/217

EGYPT

PLANS FOR NEW COLLEGES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 11 Feb 86 p 20

[Editorial by Anis Mansur]

[Text] I asked Dr Fathi Muhammad 'Ali, the minister, for more information concerning his plan to establish colleges specializing in the utilization of desert areas and dealing with, adapting to, and controlling the environment. These new establishments are supposed to be in al-Sadat City--that is, outside the Egyptian Delta and far away from the population congestion and centers of bureaucracy in Cairo and the local capital cities and they are also thus supposed to be in a position to be able to survive.

This is a step which has corrected the path taken by university education in Egypt. It began with the Canal University which specialized in maritime areas, navigation, creatures living in the seas, petroleum, and mines. Right now we should not be debating whether or not Egypt has more universities than it needs. When it comes to culture and education, we should not be saying what is necessary and what is superfluous. We have an unlimited need for education. This is especially true since the population of Egypt is in the neighborhood of being 67 percent illiterate.

It is necessary for us to have specialists to quickly deal with all of the problems of Egypt and its environment, and these include desert encroachment, drought, dams, ground water, increase in the dampness of the soil, the lack of [the soil's] fertility, the Nile roses, sewage facilities, snails, hospitals, bilharziasis, ancylostomiasis, narcotics, sex-related problems, political and religious extremism, tendencies toward psychological and social aggression, emigration, emigrants, persons sent abroad on study missions, mixed marriages, strip mining, trespassing on land and buildings, violations of the law, and crimes within the family. All of these issues are ones which tear apart and inflame Egyptian society. The reason for this is that Egyptian society has grown larger and, as a result, it is experiencing all the shortcomings, features, and tragedies of the other large-scale societies all over the world.

All we have to do is to read the publications put out by the great universities of the world concerning the problems of the Third World in order to know how diversified these universities are, how well-informed they are concerning the various types of issues both inside and outside the countries where these universities are located, and how capable the universities are, at any time, of dealing with these problems. For example, the best studies made concerning problems associated with desert areas are studies which have been produced in Great Britain--where there exists not even one square inch of desert!

Nevertheless, the little information which has been passed on to us is information which deserves our interest and shows us that the minister of higher education is a person who possesses a new and serious attitude and spirit.

9468
CSO: 4504/217

EGYPT

LAWS TO CLEANSE ISLAMIC ATMOSPHERE URGED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 14 Feb 86 p 15

[Editorial by the editor: "Expected from the People's Assembly"]

[Text] Last year the People's Assembly discussed, in detail, Islamic missionary activity. It held a number of hearings which saw the participation of all those concerned with this important issue. The discussions ended with the setting forth of solutions designed to promote Islamic missionary activity both at home and abroad and to improve the level of Islamic missionaries from the academic, material, and social points of view.

The People's Assembly also responded to the desire on the part of a large segment of Egyptian society to revise the Personal Status Law. Last year the People's Assembly also held a number of hearings for this purpose, and the result was an agreement to introduce a number of amendments to the law which would provide more stability for the family.

In addition to this, the People's Assembly has also recently held several successful sessions which were devoted to discussing the matter of drugs and narcotics.

The People's Assembly should now, I believe, be required to start moving in the direction of eliminating the claim to the prophecy and the appearance of the mahdi, as well as the cleansing of Egypt's Islamic atmosphere of all phenomena of deceit, charlatanism, and irregularities pursued in the name of religion in addition to all extremist ideas which have come to us both from the East and the West--including the Baha'i doctrine. These are ideas which have the objective of "confusing the minds of" young people and planting the seeds of doubt in the minds of older persons as far as the status of our tolerant [Islamic] faith and noble religion is concerned.

This matter, as stated in the declaration made by the Islamic Research Academy, is quite a serious one, and requires that our legislative, judicial, and executive authorities take quick action.

The phenomena which we see around us which could be characterized as irregularities in the name of religion or which we could call religious extremism actually constitute a type of strife which has not received the

attention that it deserves, even though it amounts to a grave crime. In fact, in the opinion of the religious 'ulama', it is a grave sin. The time has come for us to take the initiative and defend the laws of God which are being broken and to defend the faith of God--Islam--which people are being led away from. As a result of this, they are being led toward sin both by means of false words and by means of compulsion.

This is an appeal which I am directing to Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, the speaker of the People's Assembly, and I am asking that the appeal be given due consideration. I am requesting that, during the course of a few days in the near future, this appeal be the subject of extended hearings to be held by the Religious Affairs Committee of the People's Assembly--hearings that should be demanded by all of the parties concerned such as the 'ulama', intellectuals, cultural leaders, and those working in the media. The opinions and proposals resulting from such sessions should then be presented to the People's Assembly, and the People's Assembly should employ these opinions and proposals to create new legislation which could eliminate imposters and charlatans who operate in the name of religion and could protect our nation and its citizens from their evil deeds.

Social and Islamic Thoughts and Ideas

One of the religious, literary, and social studies which I have read this week was a book called "Thoughts and Ideas" [khawatir wa afkar], written by Prof Kamal al-Shuri, former deputy minister for land registry in the Ministry of Justice. The book was published by the Islamic Heritage Library [maktabat al-turath al-islami] in Cairo, and in the book the author dealt with eloquence and the purity of language in the Qur'an. He also took it upon himself to draw a comparison between narratives in the Qur'an and narratives in literature. In a very straightforward and attractive manner he dealt with a number of religious topics, including the Muslims' method of creating the Islamic community and the consultative institutions of Islam.

In his book, Prof al-Shuri also dealt with the biographies of a number of prominent intellectuals and religious thinkers, including the Grand Imam, His Excellency Shaykh Muhammad al-Khudr Husayn, Dr Ahmad al-Sharabasi, and the great man of letters, Mustafa al-Sadiq al-Rafi'i. In fact, I learned a lot of new information concerning the biographies of these great men, and I hope that our young people will derive benefit from becoming acquainted with their pioneering thought in the fields of knowledge and morals.

9468
CSO: 4504/217

EGYPT

CORRUPTION CASES NO LONGER COVERED-UP

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 15 Feb 86 p 7

[Editorial by Salah Muntasir: "Corruption and the Government"]

[Text] A person accused of something is innocent until he is proven guilty.

With regard to the case involving a number of prominent persons working in the industrial sector being accused of bribery, certain facts have already been revealed and the exciting and frightening details of these facts have been made public by the prosecutor general.

It would not infringe upon the rights of any of those who have had accusations made against them in this case if we clearly state the real significance of this case.

The real significance of this case is that the rulers of Egypt are not covering up corruption, no matter what kind of corruption it is, no matter who is involved in such corruption, and no matter what positions the people involved occupy.

Cases of corruption have occurred throughout the ages, but the real virtue of a given regime is to be found in the fact that it does not cover up corruption, it tracks down and prosecutes such corruption, and it is not afraid to take hold of and expose this corruption.

One of the features of Mubarak's regime has been that of stamping out and prosecuting corruption and subjecting the people involved in such corruption to a fair trial in which the judge undertakes to investigate the accusation and to render his verdict.

This case was not one which was brought out into the open by the press of the opposition, nor did this occur as a result of questions and inquiries made by the opposition such that it could be blown out of proportion. The matter was one which was uncovered by the eyes and organs of the government which did so out of a sense of duty to carry out the mission entrusted to them by the government--and this mission means not covering up corruption and not protecting those responsible for it or involved in it.

Those who cover up corruption and who, in some cases, provide protection for those involved in it, are even worse than the corruption itself. We have lived through a time in which the centers of corruption were in fortresses having closed doors in front of which stood armed guards who were providing protection for the exercise of this corruption. There were those who knew what was going on, but were afraid to talk. There were also those who did not know what was going on, because the nature of the regime was such that it did not allow them to know.

But today, thank God, if any corruption occurs, there is no longer anyone to protect it or cover it up.

Two verdicts will come out of this particular case. There will be the verdict which we will hear when it is rendered at the conclusion of the case, and there will be the verdict [against corruption] which we will hear and which will reassure us because of its righteousness and integrity.

9468

CSO: 4504/217

WESTERN SAHARA

PAPER VIEWS PROSPECTS FOR PEACE SUMMIT

Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Frederic Fritscher]

[Text] The very idea of convening a Maghreb summit meeting without the two belligerents directly involved in the Western Sahara conflict seems to us both constructive and necessary. Such a meeting might well persuade the warring parties to come to a peaceable solution, which would lead to a six-party summit," said the President of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (RASD), Mohamed Abdelaziz at a press conference on Saturday 1 March, at the conclusion of ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the RASD on 27 Feb 1976.

With his slightly receding hairline and his neat little goatee, dressed in olive-drab fatigues without insignia of rank, Mohamed Abdelasiz spent 3 hours answering questions from 150 reporters from every part of the world. With his frequent references to Resolution 104 adopted on 11 June 1983 by the OAS, he dwelt on the necessity for direct negotiations between the Polisario Front and the Moroccan government.

"Negotiations are inevitable: there is no way around them," he said, "because a military situation is more than difficult: it is impossible." He went on to add: "Our war with Mauritania has taught us that there is no point in trying to crush a whole people." (...) "Struggles for liberation invariable end around a green baize table."

Further, diplomacy is the turf on which RASD has been most successful. It (RASD) is vice-president of the OUA and 63 countries have recognized it. More than 500 people joined with the Sahraoui to celebrate the 10th anniversary of its proclamation. Delegations from every corner of the globe and from all levels of governments, political parties, labor unions, and solidarity groups -- were on hand to hear Henri Saby, a European MP (French) who heads the press relations office of the Socialist group, call this gathering "an international event of paramount importance."

The military parade bore no resemblance to a rag-tag gaggle of guerrilla fighters. As for the throng of Sahraoui present, which Abdelaziz, agreeing for the first time with international estimates, set at "more than a quarter of a million," they must have perceived it as gigantic.

Applauded by the women dressed in the traditional "melhafa" costume in blue and rose, and cheered by their ullulating "you-you" cries, the men of the Sahraoui People's Liberation Army (ALPS) made a dashing impression. Several thousand of them, men and women together at times, paraded for 2 and a half hours in impeccable uniforms and in ranks straight as a string.

A French Twist?

Abdelaziz pulled no punches as he assailed Spain and France in his speech. "Spain bears a heavy burden of responsibility in the war against the Sahraoui people," he charged. "We are astounded," he went on, "at the persistent support from the French government for Hassan II's war in the form of military, economic, and technical aid," because "that is a violation of international law and of the historical and geographical ties that bind our region with France, and that requires of France that it work to restore the peace in consonance with the principle of respect for the boundaries we inherited when colonization ended."

Despite its tone, the criticism of Paris sounds a bit more subtly shaded than it has been hitherto. Of course, Abdelaziz still feels that the French Socialists' position was clearer when they were in the opposition, because in those days they were preaching the Sahraoui people's right to self-determination and opposed the war. He did concede, though, that "in a recent book President Francois Mitterrand, baring what might be his deepest thoughts, made the point that the Sahraoui people must be free to exercise their full rights." [Note: he is referring to Mitterrand's recently published book, "Reflections on France's Foreign Policy" (Fayard)]

Mr Montaron, director of TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN and a longtime friend of Polisario, saw Mr Mitterrand briefly before leaving for Tindouf. He also met with the RASD president, and gave him a copy of the French president's book, calling his attention to that passage. Was Mr Montaron the bearer of yet another message? Will he be delivering one to Mr Mitterrand, whom he will see on his return home? Be that as it may, what he has done must have strengthened the Sahraoui's conviction that the future of the RASD must depend from now on on the West. Reportedly there was a meeting recently with some American government officials, and a Polisario-European Socialist working group is already in existence. It is to meet next Thursday to begin work on a draft resolution on the Western Sahara, which the socialist deputies are sure they can get approved in Strasbourg with the support of the communists and the ecologists.

WESTERN SAHARA

SDAR AMBASSADOR ON WESTERN SAHARA CONFLICT

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 25 Feb 86 p 3

[Text] Yesterday in Maputo, the ambassador of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (SDAR), Ibrahim Moktar, declared that the only alternative to the major resolutions on the international levels aimed at a peaceful solution to the conflict in Western Sahara, by holding a democratic referendum, is the continuation of the armed struggle, with all its disastrous consequences for the Kingdom of Morocco.

"On the occasion of the celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the SDAR, we issue an appeal to the king of Morocco to fulfill the desire of the international community: hold direct talks with the POLISARIO Front, in accordance with Resolution 104 of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)," stated Ibrahim Moktar, at a press conference on the occasion of that event, which will be celebrated on 27 February.

When asked by NOTICIAS about what the POLISARIO Front and the SDAR would do in the event that Morocco continues to postpone the holding of the referendum on Western Sahara, as stipulated in Resolution 104, the diplomat replied that the alternative is to heighten the armed struggle increasingly. He observed that the appeal for dialogue issued to Rabat represents the desire for peace which, if used to advantage by Morocco, would only preclude serious consequences for the country.

Giving an example to back his argument, Ibrahim Moktar noted that, at the present time, Morocco has a foreign debt of \$15 million and, in the war effort in Western Sahara, it is spending \$4 million every day, with a country in which two thirds of the population is living in the most absolute poverty.

During the course of the press conference, the diplomat mentioned the main events that have occurred during the 10 years of the SDAR's existence, contributing to the attainment of the Saharan people's right to national independence and sovereignty. He stressed that, in addition to the major achievements in the political-diplomatic, education, and health areas, the military factor is still the most important one throughout this period.

"Proclaimed on 27 February 1976, at a critical time when it found its existence in jeopardy," the SDAR led and witnessed, during the 10 years following its

proclamation, consecutive defeats of the various Moroccan military strategies for occupying the territory; namely, the mobile regiments, the strategy for total occupation of the country, the coordination of the Moroccan-Mauritanian military effort, the French intervention in the war, and now the fortified walls.

Stressing that the Moroccan war effort in Western Sahara during the last 10 years has cost "the Kingdom of Morocco a very high price," merely to achieve ineffective control of a part of the territory, at a cost of 140,000 men entrenched in defensive walls, Ibrahim Moktar remarked: "The Saharan people are waging war to defend themselves and to liberate part of the country occupied as a result of Moroccan expansionism."

Reiterating the value of solidarity in the struggle that his people are engaged in, the diplomat said that the SDAR is now recognized by 63 countries, and is a full-fledged member of the OAU; and the Saharan cause has been properly assessed in the Movement of Nonaligned Nations and the United Nations, bringing about an increased isolation of Morocco.

He added that, during the last 10 years, the success has also had an effect in the areas of education and health, reflected in the elimination of illiteracy in the areas under POLISARIO control and in the implementation of preventive health programs.

Also commenting on the concrete situation of the war front and the areas occupied by the Moroccans, the diplomat disclosed that there are constant popular uprisings in favor of independence, and that, recently, desertions have occurred among the Moroccan ranks, whose soldiers are joining the POLISARIO Front.

He added that the Moroccan authorities are striving to put down the people's revolt against the occupation, banishing entire families to Morocco, and replacing them with families brought from Morocco and integrated into colonies in Western Sahara.

The diplomat expressed gratitude for our country's unconditional solidarity with the cause of the Saharan people, giving a reminder that the RPM was the sixth country to recognize the SDAR, on the 14th day of its existence, and that this solidarity has been kept firm.

Our country is represented at the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the SDAR in the liberated zones by a delegation headed by Lt Gen Osvaldo Tazama, secretary of state for veterans.

2909

CSO: 3442/158

WESTERN SAHARA

10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION DETAILED

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Feb 86 p 6

[Article by Jean de la Gueriviere: "The Bulldozer War"]

[Text] On Thursday 27 February, the Polisario Front celebrates the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic (RASD). A sizable contingent of guests has made the trek from Algiers to Tindouf for the festivities that will take place on the border between Algeria and the Western Sahara. A communique from Polisario released on Wednesday reports that the Sahraoui forces attacked the Moroccan defense wall on 22 and 23 February. Despite Polisario Harassment, the wall appears to be holding. The Moroccans recently extended it as far as Guelta Zemmour, and our special correspondent traveled there.

Agadir-- The thousands of European tourists who flock here to enjoy the balmy Moroccan winters each year are unaware as they leave the airport that they are walking very close to the operations center of a titanic undertaking: the Moroccan defense berm that steadily pushing toward the south of the Western Sahara, thus protecting it against incursions by the Polisario Front.

Standing before his wall-charts, Gen Bennani, commander-in-chief of the Southern Zone, is a soberman who speaks in measured tones, the antithesis of the petty officer putting on the airs of the big chief, tells us why, militarily, at the very least, the job is all but done. Of the 260,000 square kilometers that make up the "province" recaptured from Spain, 200,000 are "secured" behind a mass of rock and sand 2,300 kilometers long, following the contours of the land. The several sections of the berm are periodically shifted, along with men and equipment, to improve and extend the defense system.

A year ago, when the wall reached Angala, on the border, Col Maaouya Taya, the Mauritanian head of state, assured us that there was still a narrow passage left through which the Polisario could pass without entering his territory (LE MONDE, 5 Mar 1985). While eschewing polemics, Gen Bennani emphatically denies this allegation. It was

in response to Sahraoui infiltration in the immediate vicinity of Amgala that, between 15 May and 20 August 1985, the 120-kilometer barrier thrown up along the vertical portion of the Mauritanian border so as to force the enemy to make yet another and even more flagrant incursion into his neighbor's territory.

"You can see the vehicles passing through Bir-Moghreim [in Mauritania] with the naked eye," says General Bennani. "Every month, some 80 trucks and jeeps violate our border. We do not intervene, so as to avoid putting the Mauritarians into a delicate position; after all, they are doing the best they can, but they lack the means."

The General is a tactful man, but he could not be more explicit as to the problem posed by this involuntary passivity in Nouakchott. He says there have been no contacts at the military level between Morocco and Mauritania to examine the situation.

Even though the "union" of Morocco and Libya consummated at Oujda in 1984 was to have been short-lived -- which has not yet proven true -- King Hassan's bluff won him the time he needed to advance. Between the Atlantic and the Mauritanian border, Moroccan bulldozers this summer pushed sand enough to make a new wall to within 100 or so kilometers south of Dakla, without encountering anything much by way of resistance.

Two Sahraoui pockets still remain, one to the east somewhat to the south of the Tindouf region, plus Tifarti, the only major water-supply still held by the Polisario; the other is in the south, in the old Rio-de-Oro.

"One of these days, we shall control the entire Tifarti basin," General Bennani told us flatly. To offset that, he rules out making all of Rio-de-Oro "secure." "There are places down there where all life is impossible; it is the ultimate, absolute desert, for instance, south of Guelta Zemmour." One might wonder, though, whether, in case there should be negotiations, that part of the Western Sahara -- roughly that portion that passed to Mauritania between 1975 and 1979 -- might not be proffered to the Polisario.

General Bennani assesses the Sahraoui troops active in the South at 500. "They have four dinghys they use to patrol the coast and machinegun fishermen. A few observation jeeps stand well away. They are equipped with antiaircraft guns which the Polisario use to fire on small private aircraft that stray out of the international flight corridor [over the sea] in spite of the warning we give pilots about the dangers of flying in this zone."

The general is certain that the Polisario is not supplied by sea. "Four hundred jeeps are ample to handle transport between Tindouf and the Atlantic," he says. But, he adds, the heavy material does not get through. We know where the 90 tanks and 60 armored personnel carriers supplied to Polisario are: 45 kilometers southwest of Tindouf."

"There is still some harassment," he admits. From time to time, one of my men is wounded, sometimes one is killed. But these are shots fired at random and from a distance. Polisario is not stingey with weapons; I reckon that weapons cost the countries that supply them 2 billion centimes a month."

Revenge at Guelta-Zemmour

It is possible that in order to pad its record, come the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, Polisario has stepped up its military action. According to a recent communique, it had temporarily invested three Moroccan positions in the Bir-Anzerane region on 22 January. These are units that clearly have the morale of conquerors, but are nevertheless alert and wary, whom we visited during a tour of the spots where the wall comes closest to the Algerian and Mauretanian borders: before Mabhes, at Amgala, and before Guelta Zemmour.

Hemmed in behind the wall since August, the Guelta Zemmour region had been evacuated by the Moroccan army in 1981 following violent combat. Its recovery is important, psychologically as well as strategically. The disgrace of 5 years ago has been wiped clean, which is important to troops made up entirely -- here at the wall -- of volunteers and career officers.

On the heights of this forced passage to Mauritania, the new masters of the place razed an ancient Spanish fort that was used as an observation-point. In its place, they built a bigger building, one better suited to the weapons and material of modern warfare. Helicopters perch on pads clinging to the side of a precipice at the tip of a narrow, rocky plateau. The wall is only a few kilometers away. Except in cases of urgent necessity, the men are careful not to venture too close to the base of the cliff in their costly aircraft, thereby exposing them to the constant risk of enemy fire.

A disintegrated blacktop road, which, in the days of the Spaniards, linked Guelta Zemmour with Bir-Moghreim, takes us to one of the support positions built practically on the Mauritanian border. A small flock of tame ducks, brought in to relieve the monotony, strut between the soldiers' feet, incongruous in this landscape of stone and sand.

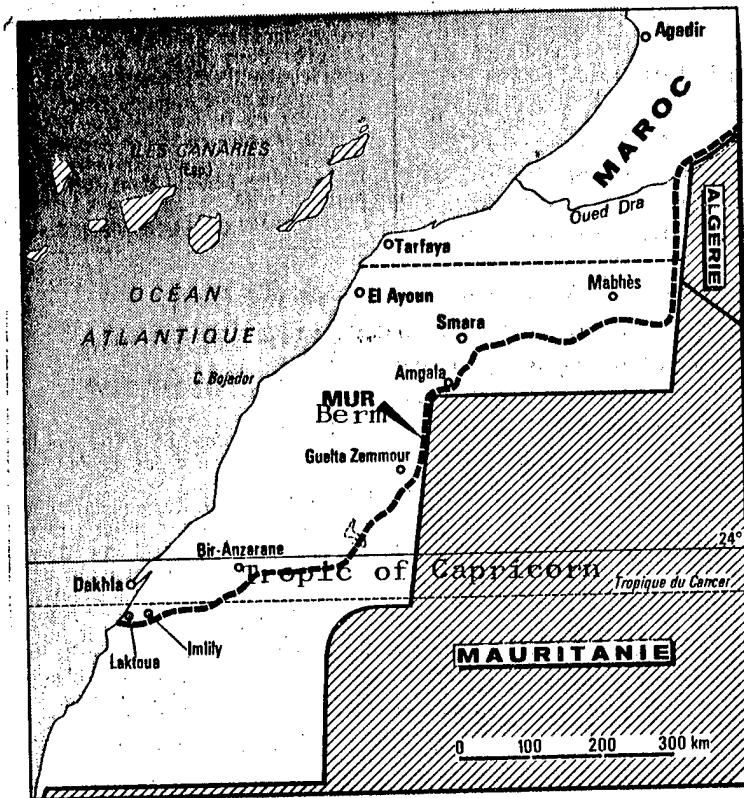
"We have just spotted two jeeps going by 10 kilometers away, inside Mauritania," announces an officer, who does not move; the "Stalin Organs" towed by enemy jeeps make a lot of noise and show a lot of light, but are not very good at precision firing.

In any case, the men have taken shelter, dug into their foxholes or safe in one of the mini-forts built at 5-kilometer intervals along the wall, so as to bring the enemy under crossfire with heavy machineguns should he manage to get through the barbed wire and minefields that lie before the wall. Should an attack prove truly

serious, the artillery and tanks in hiding several kilometers to the rear would come into action. About 100,000 troops, half the Moroccan army, are kept on permanent alert around the wall and its rear bases.

A few families of traders have followed the army as far as Guelta Zemmour. A road running from Bou-Cra, the phosphate mine-site, to the ancient Spanish stronghold will be completed in June. The nomads are not waiting for the end of the construction work to head south with their camel herds.

"This freely taken decision by the people who know the terrain better than anybody else is worth all the victory communiquees ever sent," vows one colonel.



6182
CSO: 4519/85

ISRAEL

SHARON REVEALS SECRET TALKS WITH PERES

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Feb 86 "24 Hours" Supplement p 15

[Text] It is hard to believe that Arik Sharon would, of his own free will, disclose one of the best kept political secrets, unless he had a very good reason to do so. Be that as it may, in an interview with Orli Azulay, on 14 February, he revealed that several days after the 1984 elections, before it was decided to establish a national unity government, he met Shim'on Peres secretly, "at night, in a home near Tel Aviv." In the course of the conversation, so says Sharon, he suggested to Peres the establishment of a national unity coalition, and also proposed the idea of rotation and that of the inner cabinet.

It can be assumed that Sharon did not disclose the story at this time by accident, but he did so because of what is being done to him and what is said about him in his own party. Suffice it to recall what Beni Begin said about him in a television interview, when he described him as a foreign element in Herut, as compared with the central figures of Shamir, Arens, and Levy, who are the vital organs of the party. What Sharon is trying to do is to drop hints, and not very subtle ones at that, that if not for him, there may not have been a national unity government, Likud would not have been in power, and Shamir would not be a prime minister when the rotation takes place.

It is not known how Herut reacted to the revelation. Among Alignment people, except for some key people who were in the know and who have known the story all along, there are those who were shocked.

And this is not even the whole story. Sharon did not reveal that the meeting was held in 'Azri'el 'Eynav's home in Savyon. He also did not reveal that a short time later there was a second meeting, also secret, between him and Peres. It was in that second meeting that it was agreed upon that he would serve as minister of commerce and industry in the yet to be established government.

He, not Gad Ya'aqobi, although the post had already been promised to Ya'aqobi, Shim'on Peres' old time friend. To date it has not been published what Ya'aqobi told the two emissaries that Peres sent to him in order to explain why he had to break his promise and give Sharon the job. There are those who say that there was also a secret letter that Ya'aqobi sent to his

friend Peres. It can only be guessed what the letter said, except for the accusation that Peres gave all the important economic ministries to Likud. This is also the key question about what happened to the friendship between Peres and Ya'qobi.

And even this is not the end of the story. Sharon also gave some ammunition to Peres' opponents, even within his own party. They have been claiming for a long time that Peres wanted to legitimize Sharon following the Lebanese War, even more than Likud leaders. It can only be surmised that Peres would respond that considering the election results he had no choice.

If politicians want, there is a real Pandora's box here which has not even been opened yet. It is only a question of timing. The only problem is that Sharon messed things up for them somewhat.

8646
CSO: 4423/91

ISRAEL

LARGE INCREASE IN HISTADRUT BUDGET PLANNED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 14 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by Hayim Be'ur: "The 1986 Histadrut Budget Will Increase by 60 Percent Because of the Planned Fight over Salaries"]

[Text] The 1986 Histadrut budget will increase by 60 percent over the previous year due to contests that the Histadrut is planning over salaries and unemployment.

Histadrut secretary Arthur Israelovitch reported to DAVAR that this year's budget will be 74 million new shekels as compared to 45.8 million new shekels in 1985. The Histadrut budget is based on the expectation that inflation in 1986 will be about 45 percent.

During the course of the present year the number of workers in the Histadrut Labor Committee and 72 workers' councils will be reduced by 5 percent. The reduction in manpower will not be achieved by firing workers but by freezing at current levels and not hiring new employees. Today about 2,460 people are employed at the Labor Committee center in Tel Aviv and in workers' councils throughout the country. In 1985, which was an election year, 41 new positions were added at the Histadrut.

Israelovitch revealed that food, lodging, and transportation expenses for senior Histadrut officials will be cut this year by 42 percent.

Most of the Histadrut budget, 62 percent, is intended for the organizational branch and the workers' councils; 17 percent for the culture and education branch as well as the youth and sports branch; 15 percent for the professional union branch and a few isolated percents for the other Histadrut branches such as social security, the consumer authority, the workers' corporation staff, etc. The Histadrut expects that the income from the comprehensive tax paid by its members this year will be 235 million new shekels as compared to 145 new shekels in 1985, an increase of 62 percent. This year 70 percent of the comprehensive tax monies will be directed to Kupat Holim needs [sick funds] as compared to 68 percent last year.

The Histadrut budget will be brought up for approval at the Sunday meeting of the coordinating committee in Shefayim.

9794

CSO: 4423/89

ISRAEL

PAPER REPORTS ON PRESENCE 'ANANDA MARG' SECT

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 10 Feb 86 p 9

[Article by Arye Qizel: "The Ananda Marg Sect Espouses Violence"]

[Text] The "Ananda Marg" sect, whose leader, Stephanie Selfman, is staying illegally in Israel despite an expulsion order issued against her by the Interior Ministry, quietly organized a few years ago a "military demonstration" in Haifa. Dozens of the sect's members came to the demonstration in brown uniforms.

A secret official document obtained by MA'ARIV reveals that the sect's ideology teaches violence as a way of achieving the objective of "the elimination of every form of distortion through the assistance of action companies". A raid on one of the sect's centers abroad in 1975 turned up dozens of pistols, daggers, and human skulls.

In Israel the sect numbers dozens of members scattered in towns and kibbutzim. Its centers are in Jerusalem, Ramat Gan, and Haifa. The pamphlet "Supreme Pleasure," distributed by the sect, says: "Fight for your ideology, die for it." The sect's ritual calls upon its members to perform meditation with the aid of human skulls and dances in cemeteries.

The leader of the sect, Stephanie Selfman, now lives in an apartment shared with the daughter of a well-known Haifa businessman. The daughter, who is mentally disturbed and had been hospitalized in a mental institution, joined the sect after a 5 and 1/2 month trip abroad with Selfman, during the course of which they showed up in Moscow and India. Recently a girl from a moshav in the south of Israel has joined them in the apartment and is a candidate for a similar trip.

9794
CSO: 4423/89

ISRAEL

BETHLEHEM MAYOR ILYAS FRAYJ PROFILED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 14 Feb 86 (Weekend Supplement) pp 10-13

[Article by Amos Gilbo'a: "The Star of Bethlehem: Teddy Kollek in Miniature"]

[Text] On Christmas eve 1985 Ilyas Frayj held his traditional cocktail party in a hotel not far from the grave of Rachel the Matriarch. The guest list was a political cocktail of Jewish and Arab, Muslim and Christian notables. Prime Minister Shim'on Peres and other ministers rubbed elbows with U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering and with consuls and church leaders from Jerusalem who do not recognize the city as Israel's capital; military authorities in IDF uniform snacked alongside Hana Sinyurah, the editor of the pro-PLO AL-FAJR. The common denominator that evening was around the huge, appetizing refreshment table, with a small snack bar under an attached "Kosher Food" sign.

The host felt himself in seventh heaven, and not only to justify the name of the restaurant in which the party was being held--"Paradise." Ilyas Frayj hovered among his guests like an angel, with a glass of Scotch--his favorite drink--in his hand, continually mixing the ice cubes with the finger of his left hand. When he got up at the speaker's lectern to make a speech, he seemed full of his own self-importance, in his own eyes and those of his guests, despite his appearance, which, at first glance, is unimpressive: he is short, a real dwarf, roundish, a small moustache, slightly balding, always smartly dressed, his speech slow and measured, his voice thin and a little hoarse.

He does not need a written speech. The words about peace and everyone's right to live quietly in the Holy Land pour from his mouth in Arabic and English like a sweet, finely orchestrated melody. The applause almost makes you believe them. Frayj, the soloist of the evening, is very happy and excited. He mumbles to himself: "Millions upon millions of people around the world are watching me now, the eldest son of a poor laborer--who began with nothing, and with his own two hands and thanks to his work, his intelligence, his cleverness and his perseverance made it to this moment, this historic moment." He would repeat the words "historic moment" when talking later about the telephone calls he received from all over the world, "even from Trinidad, yes, even from there." What was he thinking about at that moment? "I thought that this cocktail symbolized the fact that we, the Arabs, the Palestinians, and the Israelis, can live together in peace and I have succeeded in doing that."

Thus in that scene at the Paradise restaurant we learned a bit about the positions and character of the mayor of Bethlehem, the longest-tenured of the mayors of Judaea and Samaria, now 14 years at the job--the personality who, for many, symbolizes Palestinian moderation, the Jordanian option, the possibility of coexistence, the integration of Christian and Palestinian, whose office overlooks the birthplace of Jesus, a real man of the world. "What Palestinian Arab leader can manage to gather together under one roof such an assemblage of contrasts from Peres to Pickering to Sinyurah," some might say. "What has become of all the other leaders of the territories; where are Bassam Shak'a, Karim Khalaf, Fahd Qawasimah? They have departed the stage and only Ilyas Frayj is left," according to others. There are those who see in him the "father of Bethlehem" or the "Teddy Kollek of Bethlehem." And there are those who call him "a little agent" or "the commander of Israel's fifth column against the Palestinians." He has a lot of opponents and enemies, in the city itself, in the territories and in the PLO. "He sold his soul to the Israeli conquerer," they will say. "How could he raise a toast with Peres and shake the hand of the ruler of the city, both of whom are responsible for shutting down houses and sealing up stores?" The cynics will certainly say that he really is loyal to his city. Like tortured Jesus, Ilyas also knows how to walk on water and between the raindrops of Israel, the Palestinians, the PLO, Jordan, and the United States--and still hand out bread to his flock!

Deep down, Ilyas is a businessman, in his thinking, his deeds and his life--and also a man of action and administration. His father, Mitri bin Hamulah Anatra, was the owner of a small, run-down shop for religious articles made of wood and covered with shell, an Orthodox Christian who bore only two sons. Ilyas is the elder. He was born in 1920, at the beginning of the British mandate period in Israel, and was accepted at the English college on Mt Scopus, thanks to his aunt Firussi, the cook there. But the poor family could not afford the boarding school tuition. Thin little Ilyas made the round trip from Bethlehem every day by bus--2 grush for a 2-hour trip. It was a worthy investment. He learned English to perfection, which has stood him in good stead for over 30 years, and got a job in the public works division. Even today, 40 years later, Frayj speaks nostalgically of his boss in those days, Yitzhaq Melamed.

In 1948 he was sent to Cyprus with a staff of officials to close the mandate's financial affairs. The British suggested that he move to their administration in Kenya, but he preferred to return to Bethlehem. Equipped with administrative and financial experience, he joined his father's business to try to put it on a sound footing. Those were the days of the new Jordanian administration. It would have been hard to make progress but for Ilyas's thin elbows. The shop began to export religious articles, and its young owner was elected to the local chamber of commerce. On 4 June 1967, when King Husayn returned from his conciliation talks with Nasir, he received a call from a friend in England. "War is about to break out at any moment. Come to my place in Sheffield until all this blows over," he urged Frayj. "I am not leaving my city," he answered. "My forefathers established themselves in the city and I am staying."

Three days later the Israelis came and the workers fled. Those who did not flee went to work for the Jews... The shop was empty except for two people-- Ilyas and a foolish grown-up servant who kept getting resounding slaps on the cheek from the frustrated shop owner. But his perseverance, intelligence, and outstanding ability to take advantage of opportunities and adapt to continuously changing situations worked in his favor. Israel brought Jerusalem to Bethlehem--the development and the tourism (hundreds of thousands as opposed to 40,000 a year at the time of the mandate.) The city was inundated. Frayj, along with other notables, was quick to urge that Bethlehem be annexed to Jerusalem.

He began to import shells from Singapore and got an official Israeli exporter's license. The shop flourished and then a gold mine fell into his hands, one which every merchant in Bethlehem coveted--a tourist souvenir shop in the plaza opposite the Church of the Nativity. "Sanctuary"--a word with rich, magical connotations in the city, a dollar extractor. His future was assured. Exports grew and in 1970, when he was 50, he was elected head of the Chamber of Commerce for Bethlehem and its satellites, Bet Jala and Bet Sahur, an incomparable position of strength in a consumer town like Bethlehem. He purchased land for a song, knowing that a construction boom would cause prices to skyrocket in the future.

In 1978, 6 years after he was elected mayor, with his sons running the business, he left for an official visit to the United States. Over a glass of whiskey in a luxurious hotel bar somewhere in the midwest, Frayj met some American who became his drinking partner. Frayj told him that he came from the Holy Land, from the city where Jesus was born, and wanted to sell religious articles of olive wood. The man did not believe it. For him the Holy Land and Jesus were concepts from the world of legend. Frayj jumped at the opportunity, went up to his room, and returned with a full suitcase. The American was convinced and bought it on the spot with a check. The next morning the bank informed him that there was nothing "to cover" the check. The merchant and man of action reacted quickly. The police located the swindler in a lightning operation. With Frayj there is no such thing as nothing. There is no merchandise without payment. His philosophy is "I respect him who respects me."

The Jewish settlements in the territories do not flatter his honor as a Palestinian and as a merchant, and he therefore misses no opportunity to say that they are the source of every evil and bitterness. When he floats some moderate slogan about the future of the territories, everyone who knows him understands perfectly that it is not the intellectual ideologue speaking, but the merchant who knows exactly what "a dunam here, a dunam there" means. Mostly it will be some variation of the merchant's slogan, "Better save what can be saved."

His opponents in the town, both merchants and leftists, complain that money and profit are the fuel that drive him as mayor. "Why are there no parks, playgrounds or sports fields," they ask accusingly and immediately answer, "Because they do not make money, and Frayj will only develop money makers." They are both right and wrong. Frayj himself, when asked where he will go when he retires as mayor, answers: "I will go back to my business, which,

thank God, is flourishing." But no one understands more than he his enormous power as mayor of the city of the Church of the Nativity. He loves the authority and loves his city.

Frayj and Bethlehem are almost like Teddy Kollek and Jerusalem. He was the one who put it on the world map alongside his name. While all the mayors in Judaea and Samaria used their position to advance the national struggle against "the Israeli conquest," Ilyas developed his city and made it the most prosperous of the cities in the territories. Since 1972 he has been elected mayor of the town twice. Schools, hospitals, workplaces, highways, and other structures sprout up in Bethlehem like mushrooms after the rain. The mayors of Hebron, Shekhem, Janin and Ramallah foster violence in their towns. He makes sure to keep it far away and treats Bethlehem the way he does his own clothes, always keeping them clean and neat, so as not to lose its attraction for foreign investors, charitable organizations, and religious institutions. That supplies employment and, of course, infuses currency. He is constructing a new municipal building opposite the Church of the Nativity and just a short hop from his "Sanctuary." Thus he ties together religion, money, and power.

The municipal building is luxurious and polished. Behind his shiny office is a spacious guest room with an orange sofa its entire length. The world's greats here drank the delicious tea that his personal secretary Dina prepares. "Jimmy Carter sat on that sofa when he was president of the United States," he says with pride. His self-importance, his insistence on the respect due him, and his need for those small perquisites of authority find their perfect expression here. Abu-Jalal, a tall servant, is always properly placed to give him his hat or help him with his coat. Salim, his husky driver, also stands at the ready alongside the Mercedes. Frayj and his personal secretary Jamal Salman, his right hand man and confidant, are an inseparable pair. They are all, of course, family or clan members, who can be trusted.

Ilyas Frayj is a diligent man. He is already in the office by 8:00 am, after having read the daily newspapers at home (The JERUSALEM POST and AL-QUDS), and having listened to the news on the radio from Jerusalem (in English) and from Jordan (in Arabic). After a cup of coffee and a look at articles from the morning papers marked in yellow, he goes on to the main business of the day: receiving the public. Dozens throng to his door, the rich and the poor from all over Judaea, Samaria, and Gaza, carrying petitions, requests, and complaints. He is proud of that villager from the neighborhood of Shekhem whose son is a student in the USSR and wants to marry a Russian girl. The Russians asked for certification that he was a bachelor. The father turned to Frayj. "Why to me in particular? Because all over the world they know who Ilyas Frayj is, just as everyone knows that I met with Shim'on Peres, and they think that I am all-powerful. So I gave him the certificate with my signature."

Frayj signs everything. Nothing leaves the halls of the municipal building--large or small--without his signature. He is unbelievably concentrated. "The city engineer, the judicial advisor, they all just submit recommendations to me. I authorize and sign." He makes decisions by himself without consulting the town council. He will report retroactively, as if doing a favor. That annoys a lot of people, particularly the members of the town council who, like

him, were elected in 1976. There are 10 of them but they are of no consequence under Frayj.

What is the object of their anger and their slings of criticism? One of the secrets of his strength and support--the collection of funds for projects in his city. In that, his neighbor and colleague Teddy Kollek is a good teacher, but the pupil is already beginning to surpass his master. No one is more expert than Ilyas in scraping up money from every possible source. No one knows exactly how much money he has collected--from Israel, from the Americans, from the Europeans, from the Australians, from every possible charitable and assistance organization. Lately he has even managed to extract \$2 million from the Saudis, the guardians of Islam's holy places, to build a school in the city of Jesus. "That is no great trick on the part of Frayj," they say in the council and in the city. "Anyone who is mayor of a town like Bethlehem could muster a lot of money." That would be true if the monies had begun flowing before he was elected. What Frayj did besides, with his moderation, his intelligence, and his public relations, was to make the world media his own and to turn the marshalling of funds into an art.

The council members are also annoyed that he does not report to them, merely throws them crumbs of information here and there. They make his life miserable in the council by constantly questioning, leaking information, torpedoing projects, making wisecracks, and inciting trouble. Chief among them was a certain communist named George Hizbun. Frayj despised him, but did not dare conspire against him because of his ties to the PLO. He only waited for him patiently in a corner. After the war in Lebanon, when the PLO's prestige declined and the organization split, Frayj sensed, with his very developed sense of smell, that the time was ripe for revenge. He "revealed" to the council that Hizbun had missed three sessions, and according to Jordanian law he had to be dismissed. Now his next biggest enemy in the council is his deputy, Hanna Nasir, a Greek Catholic, and there is nothing worse than that for any mayor, not just in Bethlehem. Frayj is in a trap. He is afraid to go abroad, lest Hanna take decisions against him in his absence. In that council everything is fluid and works on the basis of "watch out for me and I will watch out for you." All loyalty is limited.

But his troubles do not end there. Once Bethlehem was a Christian city with 13 churches and 1 mosque. Today there are 5 mosques, and they say that roughly half the population, about 25,000, is Muslim. Frayj is caught in between. As a man of compromise and conciliation, he tries to please everyone, but that is hard to do. He has another sore spot: the refugee camp of Duhayshah is within the town's jurisdiction. It is a hornets' nest of George Habash's people and the Muslim Brotherhood. One day last winter hundreds of them invaded the town, waved green flags, brandished swords, and roared, "Allah is great." Ilyas trembled in his office. The matter of the new market, the mayor's "white elephant," is an old story. Frayj, of course, thinks big. He set up a magnificent new market outside the city. It was an excellent idea, but the rents are high. The merchants in the old market, most of them Muslim, did not want to move. There were demonstrations and fines, but the market, in which almost \$2 million had been invested, was virtually empty.

Frayj finds praise and comfort in the pleasures of the larger world, in press coverage but mainly in his small family circle. He is a family man. He calls his 3-story house on the road to Hebron a "kibbutz." His wife Victoria, the daughter of a distant aunt from the Frayj family, bore him 3 sons and 3 daughters. Two of his sons live on the "kibbutz" with their 7 children. Frayj, dressed in a brown abayya with pajamas underneath, loves nothing better than to play with his grandchildren. All around are lots of crucifixes and carpets. And no one can prepare food like Victoria. Who has not tasted it: the former chancellors of West Germany, ministers in the Israeli government, foreign ministers, senators, etc. Frayj asserts that he is not on a diet, but he tries to get just a taste of everything. Sometimes he is unsuccessful. Once he used to honor his guests with cigarettes and cigars. Not any more. He himself used to smoke cigarettes, but from the moment he was elected mayor he decided that it was no longer proper and stopped.

Frayj is at home in all the corridors of the western world. His schedule is full of official invitations. He gets the red carpet treatment everywhere: He is a Christian, and, in particular, the mayor of Bethlehem; he is a Palestinian and moderate in his political views. He outfitted himself with diplomatic pomp and circumstance. His speech is smooth and polished. His appearances around the world cause Israel no little damage. He knows how and when to rant about "the cruel Israeli conquest," to mourn "the oppressed Palestinians" and to wrap it all in sweetness and moderation and opposition to any form of violence.

Many liberal ears in the United States and the West love to hear this sort of thing, and Frayj knows how to do it with delicacy and the proper intonation. He and the media have a mutual love affair going. The Israeli press, like that abroad, has put him on a pedestal and blown him out of all proportion. Frayj, who does not know how to repay a compliment, is always ready and willing to be on the media "firing line" and does not hesitate to be photographed with anyone. He exploits this romance with elegance, even as a threat. "We will go to the press," he once hinted to the military authorities, to foil a decision that he did not like. But, like every politician, he is unbelievably sensitive to what is written about him and his city. His public image is very dear to him.

He is a master of personal contacts. One of his most valuable possessions is his book of phone numbers. He is a political creature who will always try to please everyone, to befriend everyone and annoy no one. His ties are particularly close with the Americans (Shultz is his friend and he has already dined privately with Pickering), with American Jewry, with the Israelis, and with Jordan. The well-attuned Frayj has gotten to know us very well. "I feel right at home with Israeli politics," he says. "That is my profession." His antennae are sensitive to the appointments cooked up in the "Israeli kitchen," and his tongue know exactly what to say to whom and how to play on internal tensions. He knows how important it is to us to maintain close ties with him, and how far we will go in giving him prestige and backing. He is used to picking up the telephone to ministers in the Labor party without problems. His ties with the Israeli peace camp are long-standing and strong. He speaks appreciatively of Dayan and Alon. Teddy Kollek is an old friend. When he visited the United States in 1984, he told the Israeli reporters: "I hope that

the Labor coalition and Ezer Weizmann's list win the election and establish a government that will strive for peace with the Palestinians without annexation." He also met twice with Begin and with Moshe Arens when the latter was minister of defense, but his contacts with Likud people are negligible.

He is an avowed pro-Jordanian, and Amman is a regular stopover in his travels. His ties with King Husayn and the Jordanian leadership are good. Their door is open to him. When speaking to Israelis he likes to say, as if confiding some secret: "I saw the King and he told me that..." Nevertheless the real situation seems to be a little different. Frayj is not Jordan's number 1 man in the territories. The Jordanians do not entirely trust him. His ties to the Israelis and Americans are too good. In their view he talks too much and takes part in things that they do not approve of. (Recently a peace process simulation game was held in Jerusalem. He represented Jordan, and in Jordan they wanted to know: "Who asked you?")

His relations with the PLO are somewhat reminiscent of King Husayn's relations with that terrorist organization: they meet, they separate, they bless and curse each other, and in the end they are hostile. All of his staying power, his craftiness, his political savvy are needed to control the ups and downs of his ties to that organization. In 1976 he was the only pro-Jordanian, non-PLO member elected as town mayor, and it started a black period in his life. He suffered one blow after another. His quiet town turned into a maelstrom. PLO loyalists controlled the streets. Then Sadat arrived. Frayj thought that Husayn would join his initiative. He therefore met with him [Sadat] in the King David hotel and came out for the autonomy plan. But Husayn did not join. The PLO declared war on the Camp David agreements and on "all traitors and fellow-travelers of the Jordanian government." Frayj was also on the black list. The "Committee for National Determination" in the territories held a protest meeting at Universite des Freres, overlooking the Church of the Nativity. All the militant mayors were at the lectern. Frayj went up, too. The cameras followed him. He extended his hand to Karim Khalaf and Bassam Shak'a, and they rebuffed him. What shame, what disgrace! They "killed" him with all the people looking on. Habash's Front newspaper published front page pictures of traitors that had been and would be killed. Frayj was among them. He understood that in order to stay alive he had to change his pro-Jordanian image. He therefore ran as fast as he could to 'Arafat to seek his protection. He got it, but at a price. He covered himself with a thick PLO flak jacket and began to sing their tune. The area commander, Brig General (Fu'ad) Ben-Eli'ezer considered removing him. (Today he says: "He has to be judged against the background of the forces acting upon him--the PLO, Jordan, the street, and Israel. Looking back, he acted correctly in view of the mortal danger he was in.") But luck was with him. First the militant mayors were removed, and the pressure on him lessened. Then the war in Lebanon began with the rapprochement between 'Arafat and Husayn. Frayj again rose in stature, this time with 'Arafat's blessing. His pro-Jordanian pronouncements increased, but the dose was limited. He knows how far he can go.

He wanted to be included in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation for peace talks. It was a bitter disappointment for him that lesser people were chosen, people whom the PLO could control. But not him. He is too big for the PLO, a

thorn in their side and also not reliable. He does his acrobatics on too many tightropes. Inconsolable, he disconnected the telephone at home and in the office and refused to be comforted. Shim'on Peres and others had to encourage him. He got over it through his tenacity and adaptability, but the scar remains. The murder of Aziz Shahadah in Ramallah really shook him. His rest has been troubled ever since. Does a similar fate await him? The Christmas cocktail party lifted his spirits, but worry continues to gnaw at him.

Meanwhile he is his city's leader and will remain so as long as the IDF is in charge. What would happen without the IDF if PLO supporters were to take control? He was once overheard to say: "I will go to Teddy Kollek's office and live there." Frayj has no divisions and no troops. He is a Christian and his family is not reckoned among the nobility in the territories, who are Muslim. He is likely to be reelected in the upcoming municipal elections, but he is likely to face a Muslim council. Therefore he will not be able to represent the Palestinians in negotiations with Israel. He may be a member of the group, but not the chief among them.

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ISRAEL

ESTABLISHMENT OF COPTIC COLLEGE CONTESTED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Feb 86 p 1

[Article by Akiva Alder: "Interior Minister Refuses To Sign Off on Program to Establish Coptic College in Bet Hanina"]

[Text] Interior Minister Yitzhaq Peretz is refusing to sign off on the program to establish a Coptic College in Bet Hanina, a project that Egypt is demanding as part of the normalization discussions with Israel.

A senior government source told HA'ARETZ yesterday that even though the Ministry of Defense had removed its opposition to the establishment of the college and all of the planning committees had given their approval, Minister Peretz was still holding on to the documents. Despite the appeals of the Foreign Ministry to the Ministry of the Interior to speed up the permit process, Minister Peretz is afraid, according to that same senior source, that it is a Christian institution like the Mormon center in Jerusalem.

Before leaving for the general directors' talks in Israel, the head of the Egyptian delegation, Dr Nabil al-'Arabi, met with the Egyptian foreign minister, Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, and at the end of the session said that when Israel raises demands in the area of improved relations, Egypt will demand the authorization of the college and a solution to the dispute over the Dayr al-Sultan church in Jerusalem. It should be noted that the ministerial committee on the Coptic-Ethiopian dispute, established in 1968, has not met now for several months. Minister of Religion Dr Yosef Burg, who heads the committee, appointed retired judge David Bakhor to deal with the issue, but thus far the committee has not dealt with practical solutions. In internal discussions the idea was surfaced to transfer the issue to the heads of the three large churches in Jerusalem, but government circles objected. It has been learned that in Jerusalem there is concern that a change in the situation at Dayr al-Sultan, at the expense of the Ethiopian church, which holds the keys to the building, might affect Israeli interests in Ethiopia. Nevertheless, other circles claim that Israel's interest in improving relations with Egypt takes precedence over its peripheral interests in Ethiopia.

These two topics have already been discussed in an Israeli-Egyptian working group that is dealing with the normalization issue in Herzliya, despite the cabinet decision that normalization would go hand in hand with the signing of

the arbitration document. On the matter of the border dispute, the Egyptians announced that they will immediately open contacts for improving trade and tourist ties between the two countries. The director general of the prime minister's office, Avraham Tamir, said yesterday that in his opinion the working group for the arbitration document would be able to complete its work within a few weeks. He noted that there is a possibility that the cabinet will have to decide several questions on the matter. U.S. representatives at the talks yesterday made several suggestions for drafting the arbitration document, and the two sides will have to decide whether to accept them.

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ISRAEL

EDUCATION MINISTER, BROADCASTING COMMITTEE VIEW SHUTDOWN OF TV

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 Feb 86 p 2

[Article by Lili Galili: "On Sunday, Navon, Zamir, and the Broadcasting Authority Executive Committee Will Discuss Shut-Down of TV"]

[Text] Minister of Education Yitzhaq Navon and the government's legal adviser, Professor Yitzhaq Zamir, will meet on Sunday with members of the Broadcasting Authority's Executive Committee to discuss legal and other aspects of closing down television broadcasting, or alternative steps resulting from the situation.

Yesterday the chairman of the Executive Committee and the general director met with Professor Zamir, who, in principle, favors shutting TV down but stressed to them the legal difficulties stemming from the situation. The Broadcasting Authority Law, as it stands, includes no stipulations for such a course of action. If TV should be shut down anyway, it would mean the firing of all the workers and the payment of compensation. The cessation of salary payments without firing would involve a protective lockout, but would have to be aimed at a particular problem and terminate with the solution of that problem. In the talks that the members of the Executive Committee held yesterday, there were signs of a willingness to move toward a shut-down of TV, even if it would not be done immediately. In a protracted meeting held yesterday by representatives of the committee of TV technicians with the chairman of the Executive Committee, Mikha Yanon, they tried to convince him that the many problems in the transmission of "Mabat" resulted from all kinds of difficulties that they had not yet been able to locate, and not from deliberate sabotage. They also claimed that it would be a professional affront to them if TV were indeed to be shut down because of technical difficulties. Yanon made it clear to them that they were now in a trap: If the difficulties continue, TV will be shut down in any case; if it should cease at this stage, no one would believe that the problems were not intentional. Transmission yesterday proceeded normally.

Today Navon is to meet with representatives of the technicians committee and a representative of the Histadrut technicians, Zalman Shenker. Navon will state his opposition in principle to closing down TV broadcasting. On the other hand, members of the Broadcasting Authority's management and others who had earlier opposed that course of action now say that there is no other solution. Yanon told HA'ARETZ that even if TV broadcasting were not to be shut down immediately, a dynamic has been created that might lead to its closing at a later date.

ISRAEL

AGRICULTURAL SECTOR FACES SERIOUS DEBT PROBLEM

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Feb 86 Financial Supplement p 10

[Text] Secretaries of the Moshav Movement Gedalya Gal and Yohanan Dani'el are hard at work these days on an overall recovery plan. Their plan was to be presented for approval within a week. It was expected that implementation would start right away. There just is no choice. Rural settlements have reached the point of no return. Additional government funds cannot help and demonstrations are no longer effective.

Rural settlements now have a total debt burden of \$250 million. This is a short term debt, which has to be repaid to banks, suppliers, and other lenders within 1 year. In addition there is an additional \$150 million in long term debts.

True, kibbutzim, too, have difficulties. They, too, have debts amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars. But they can recover and be back on their feet thanks to organized marketing and mutual help. The serious problem is in rural settlements, where every farmer is on his own.

The main problem of the agricultural sector lies in the fact that there is an over abundance of production. For years farmers have succeeded in developing modern agriculture, among the most advanced in the world. Crops per unit of area have gone up sharply in recent years.

At the same time the government decided to reduce subsidies to agriculture, which in turn reduced consumption, because of steep prices hikes. In addition to these two factors (over which farmers have no control), many settlements took advantage of cheap and convenient credit for useless investments. These investments, part of which were for personal consumption, are a heavy burden to many settlements. What is happening to agriculture today can only be defined as the curse of over abundance. At this point there is no choice but to reduce production.

Efforts to increase agricultural exports are not practical, either. Spain, recently accepted into the European Economic Community, enjoys special treatment. As a result it now is a formidable competitor and it is doubtful whether agricultural exports to Europe can increase much in the next few years. Efforts to penetrate American and Far Eastern markets are just

beginning. It is questionable whether these markets can absorb the over production.

An overall recovery plan has been formulated by the Agriculture Ministry. The basic principle behind the plan is adjusting supply to actual demand of the population. Accordingly, it will be necessary to liquidate 5,000 farms and transfer their production capacity to farmers who employ advanced production systems. The main problem is, what will happen to those farmers who will lose their livelihood. At this point no practical solutions to the problem have surfaced.

Attempts by the Moshav Movement to establish industry in their settlements is not yet bearing fruit. It is a most difficult and complex process. After 3 years of attempts by TELEM (Industry for Rural Settlements) it is difficult to point to many success stories. They are not geared for such a drastic change, which has, by the way, been successful in kibbutzim.

Because of the seriousness of the situation, there has been a breaking away from organized frameworks. Many farmers now prefer to sell their produce for cash. This way they hurt, first and foremost, those farmers who continue with planned and organized marketing. The Moshav Movement is aware of it but can do nothing about it. Farmers go on ignoring them and continue to receive low prices. Others prefer (in violation of the Settlement Act) to lease their land to merchants, many from outside the Green Line. Activities like this thwart any attempt at rehabilitation. Planners will therefore have to address the problem of violation of the law by some farmers.

According to estimates, 30 percent of all produce on the market gets there illegally. This high percentage causes pressure on the market and has sharply reduced prices. Very often there is a surplus and the farmers who continue to market within the organized framework are the ones who suffer.

The Agriculture Ministry is aware of this. They know that further funding will not help. Without an overall recovery plan agriculture's ills, especially those of rural settlements, are like a bottomless pit.

Conditions for financial aid are therefore stiffer this time around. There are even those who are afraid to borrow. Every farmer who gets a loan makes a commitment to market his product through the settlement's association. Thus income can be monitored, and repayment of the loans can be ensured. Every settlement which receives a loan will be under constant observation by experts from the outside. These inspectors will also monitor the process of decision making in the settlement.

The heavy financial burden that the settlements are facing forces them to overhaul their whole operation. The Moshav Movement is sure that this time the operation will be successful. "There simply is no choice," says Gedalya Gal, who is working hard to save the movement.

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ISRAEL

ECONOMY SAID NOT READY FOR GROWTH

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Feb 86 Financial Supplement p 3

[Text] There is a big debate going on these days regarding renewed growth of the economy. While Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i insists that the time has not come and that the economy has to be revitalized before investments can resume, Planning and Economy Minister Gad Ya'aqobi demands resuming them immediately. The debate, which is economic in nature, has spilled over to parties and politics. Alignment ministers maintain that the finance minister is waiting for the rotation, in order to implement a policy of investment and growth. Moda'i rejects these claims altogether. According to him the low inflation figures are not yet convincing. The economy needs a thorough overhaul before the second part of the economic plan can be tackled.

With this debate in mind, it seems that industrialists should have something to say. In a letter they recently sent to Prime Minister Peres they analyzed the situation. According to them the economy is not yet ready for growth and steps should be taken immediately to reorganize the industrial base and gear it toward the implementation of a reinvestment policy.

"In our opinion, not only have recent accomplishments not created a basis for renewed growth, but what accompanied them threatens the achievements in the area of the balance of payments and inflation," says the letter, in part.

The economic plan has so far achieved substantial results: inflation has been halted, there is an improvement in the balance of payments, the government deficit has been reduced, and the public now trusts the sheqel anew. But all these accomplishments are being threatened.

According to the letter the economic plan has brought about reduced savings, a freeze in industrial exports, an only temporary reduction in imports, an unprecedented erosion of industrial profitability, a relative reduction in return on investments, especially industrial investments, and a heavier tax burden, especially on businesses. All these areas have to be improved before the growth phase is started. There is another potential threat, which may materialize any minute, the end to the administrative price freeze. As long as the policy of a price freeze is in effect, inflation is low. But what will happen when the freeze is removed?

"Growth means a growing pie. Higher production, not higher budgets. Actually, a necessary condition for economic growth is lower public budgets. The more the public budget is reduced, the more growth can be effected," continues the letter.

Declarations alone will not suffice to prepare the economy for a change in policy. The economy is now on a very shaky basis. Any change may cause negative results. Therefore the measures that need to be taken have to be slow. Only when those measures have taken their full effect can growth resume.

Trends in industrial growth in 1984-85 (figure 1) clearly show a retreat. If the trend continues it seems that industrial exports, which depend on long range orders, will continue to decline. It should be pointed out that export data are based on orders made a whole year in advance and that is why plans for encouraging exports next year have to be made right now.

Renewed growth depends on reduced public expenditures and channeling resources to business. Private capital should also be turned to industry rather than to private consumption. Figure 2 shows private savings (bottom line) going down steeply, discretionary income (middle line) also on the decline, while public expenditures (top line) show hardly any change.

Another factor, which at this point prevents renewed growth, is the heavy tax burden. It holds back productive investments (figure 3). Taxes in the past year constituted 50 percent of the GNP, and the trend for this year is upward. It should be pointed out that in the last 20 years there has been a 70 percent decline in economic growth. In the past Israel enjoyed an annual growth rate of 9 percent. Last year the figure was only 2.6 percent.

The most serious factor, which mandates reshuffling of the whole economy, lies in the fact that labor costs have gone up above production (figure 4). It turns out that in recent years there has been a marked increase in the price per unit of production, with no corresponding increase in productivity. This is why the return on capital has also declined. "The interest rate is the only variable which is in the way of growth and which can be changed, even if it is not possible to bring it in line with what is deemed acceptable in the rest of the world," the letter says.

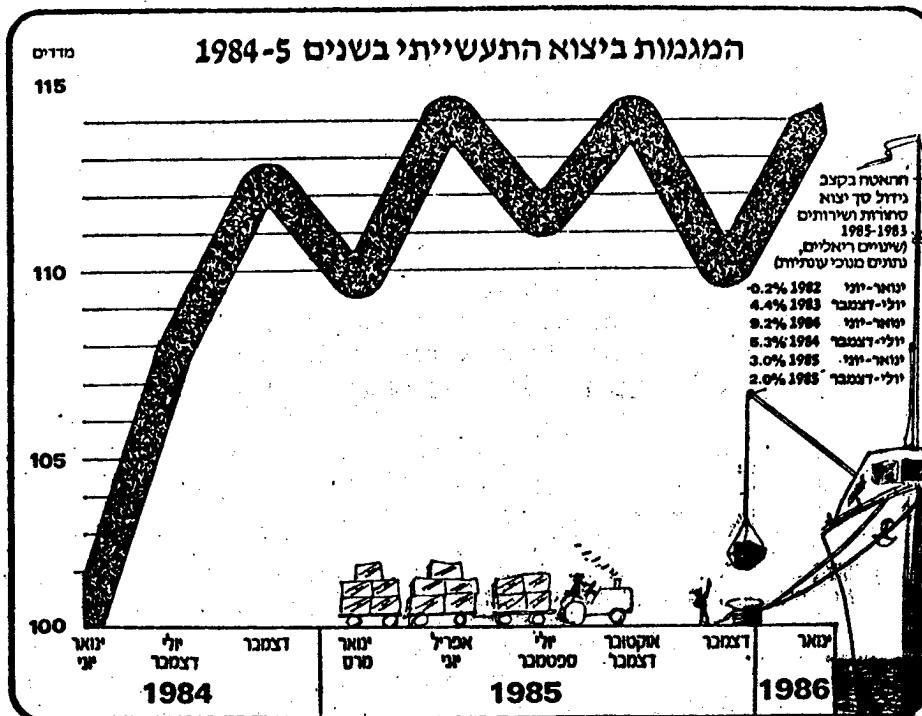
"Interest rates have been played with too generously since the economic plan was put into effect." This was done with the idea of curtailing demand with an interest rate which is lower than inflation. It now turns out that this policy was overused and thus hurt the production sector. Reducing interest rates can, of course, help renewed growth, but as long as all those other obstacles are still in the way, it is doubtful that lower interest rates alone can effect renewed growth, even if this step is needed only to maintain what has already been accomplished. It should also be remembered that what is needed is renewed growth for exports. In this area interest has less impact and industrial profitability is more important. But it is precisely profitability which has been going down in recent months, according to industrialists.

How, then, can economic growth be effected, such that increased industrial exports will follow? Industrialists have a solution: "Reduced public expenditures will necessitate fewer taxes and will generate greater amounts of discretionary income. This in turn will increase savings and channeling of resources to industry. Increased investments will cause higher productivity, higher return on investments, and higher real income. The higher income will, in turn, promote productivity, causing higher income, higher savings, and even higher investments."

The basic condition for this scenario is reduced public expenditures. There is a danger of unemployment. But it is expected to be only temporary. Therefore there is no need to fear this kind of a move. Any other alternative is more dangerous. Industry's conditions for renewed growth: proper profitability, capital at reasonable prices, low tax rates, a minimal degree of certainty.

As long as these conditions are not met, it is doubtful whether a policy of growth can be pursued.

Trends in Industrial Exports, 1984-85



Slowdown in the rate of growth of exports of goods and services 1983-85 (seasonally adjusted)

| | |
|-----------|------|
| Jan - Jun | 0.2% |
| Jul - Dec | 4.4% |
| Jan - Jun | 9.2% |
| Jul - Dec | 5.3% |
| Jan - Jun | 3.0% |
| Jul - Dec | 2.0% |

Jan-Jun Jul-Dec Dec Jan-Mar Apr-Jun Jul-Sep Oct-Dec Jan

איך נזק בתקציב החיצוני והשלכות הרסנית על החיסכון הפרטי

Reducing expenditures-a structural problem
קיטון החיסכון-בעיה מבנתית

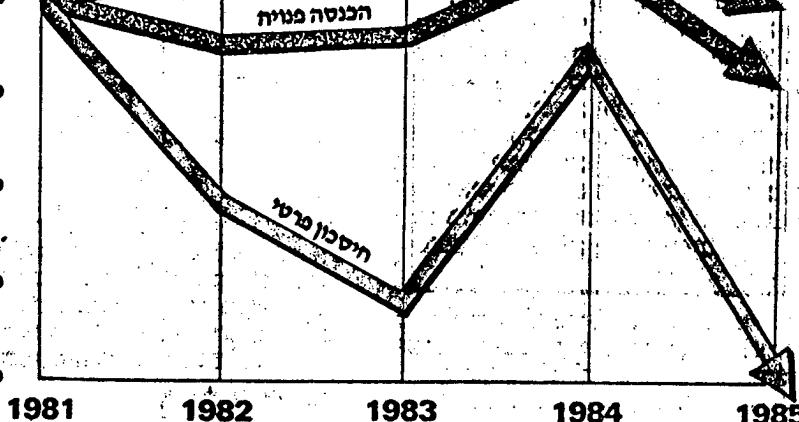
110
מודים

110 Reducing expenditures-a structural problem
קיטון החיסכון-בעיה מבנתית

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צורך ציבורית מקומית

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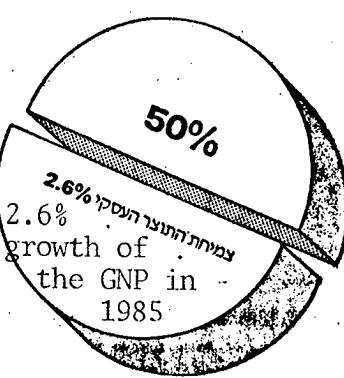
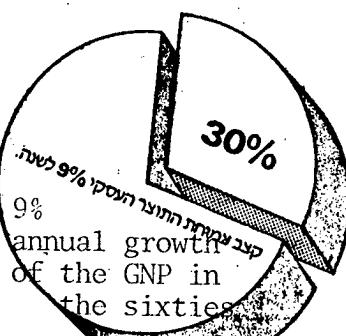
Public expenditures

Discretionary income

Private savings

חולם של המסים בתל"ג

Taxes as a percentage of the GNP



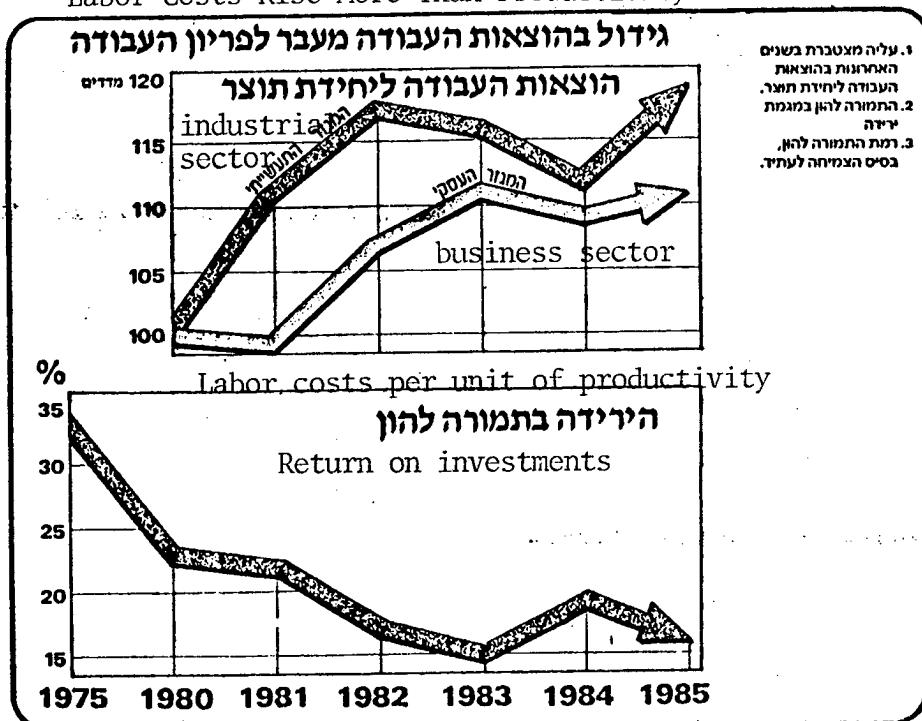
ירוח של
70%
בקבוצת()
ב-20 השנים האחרונות.

שפוי
התקציב הלאומי:
נטול המס
בשנת 1986
לא שמי.

A decline of 70% in economic growth in the past 20 years

According to the budget
the tax burden is to
remain constant in 1986

Labor Costs Rise More Than Productivity



On top right:

1. Accumulated rise in recent years in labor costs per unit of production.
2. Return on investment is on the decline.
3. The level of return on investment is the basis for future growth.

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CSO: 4423/89

ISRAEL

SAMARITAN COMMUNITY THREATENED WITH EXTINCTION

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 23 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by Sarah Honig]

[Text]

HOLON. — The Samaritans, one of the world's smallest ethnic communities, are facing a severe demographic problem: too few young people are marrying. Samaritan parents thus plan an aggressive matchmaking campaign to ensure the community's future existence.

There are only 529 Samaritans. About half live in Holon; the rest are in Nablus. But about half of all Samaritans are single people of marriageable age, with no partners in sight.

The Samaritan publication *A.B.*, which comes out in Holon, reports that between 1970 and 1985 the community's size increased by only 28 per cent. This followed a brief spurt in growth after the Six-Day War, which reunited the two halves of the community.

There are two reasons for the high percentage of Samaritan singles.

First, the Samaritans have for long given birth to more sons than daughters. The reason for this is not clear, but it may have to do with the community's being made up of only five extended families, whose members are closely related.

Secondly, parents often make matches for their children while they are still in infancy. But when the young people grow up, they do not always abide by parental wishes, and some are thus left without spouses.

The aim now is to hold as many community get-togethers as possible to give the many single people an opportunity to get to know prospective marriage partners. There will be a constant emphasis in these meetings on the community's demographic crisis.

Many Samaritan men have brought Jewish wives into the community in the past few years. From the Samaritan point of view, such marriages present no problems, since Samaritans consider themselves descendants of the tribes of Ephraim and Menashe and see Jews as fellow Israelites descended from the tribe of Judah. Thus, these are not mixed marriages, as far as the Samaritans are concerned, but rather marriages between Israelites.

But Jews view such matches as marriages outside the faith, since the traditional Jewish view is that the Samaritans are members of a foreign nation exiled to Eretz Yisrael in biblical times by the Assyrians. It is held that they absorbed only the rudiments of the local religion upon their arrival here. The Samaritans accept only the Tora, the five Books of Moses, and their interpretation of the text tends to be literal. They reject the rest of the Bible, as well as the Oral Law (the Mishnah) and the rabbinical exegesis of the Talmud.

The chief problem for Jewish women entering the Samaritan community is the group's strict adherence to the biblical injunction of *Nida*, which demands that a woman desist from all contact with others during her menstrual period and after giving birth.

The Samaritans have been compared in some respects with the Ethiopians, whose traditions also appear to be based on the five Books of Moses, with little reference to later traditions. But unlike the Ethiopians, the Samaritans are fully acquainted with Hebrew, and read the scriptures in what they maintain is an ancient Hebrew pronunciation. They also use the ancient Hebrew alphabet.

Moreover, they have no problems with the rabbinate, since they have never tried to integrate with the Jewish community. They run a separate community according to their own traditions, headed by a cohen or priest.

At the time of the Moslem conquest, the community claims, there were over 300,000 Samaritans in this country. But by the start of the British mandate after World War I, their numbers had dwindled to 146. Most Samaritans are thought to have been killed or forcibly converted by the Arabs.

Ancient enmities between Jews and Samaritans have been replaced in modern Israel by assistance extended to the community by the state, especially after Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, the second president, took the community under his wing.

/9274

CSO: 4400/136

ISRAEL

EMPLOYMENT SITUATION IN TERRITORIES DISCUSSED

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 24 Feb 86

[Article by Yakir Tzur, originally published in DAVAR on 21 February 1986:
"The Employment Situation in the Territories"]

[Text] As in each year over the last eight years, a delegation comprising three International Labor Organization members arrived in Israel this week to review "the worker and employment situation in the occupied Arab territories." The delegation members met with Arab and Palestinian figures in Jordan, Judea and Samaria, and the Gaza Strip, and with civil administration and Labor Ministry representatives in charge of employment in the territories.

The committee's report will be submitted to the annual ILO conference in June, and--as always--there will be someone to find in it issues for lashing out at Israel. Last year's report was marked by an "unobjective approach to the description of developments in the spheres of labor and employment among residents of the territories--due mainly to political opinions," says Shlomo Amir, the labor minister's adviser for Judea, Samaria and Gaza matters. Israeli administration sources hope that the report will be more objective and less harsh this year.

It is highly doubtful whether Ibrahim, Sufian, Mahmoud and Omar of Hebron, the Yatah Village, Ramallah or Bethlehem, have ever heard of the ILO or of the report in which they figure as statistical data. For them, reality is summed up in their chances of coming back home at the end of the day with their daily pay in their pocket, or passing the day at a cafe and going home empty-handed.

We met Ibrahim and his friends this week in the environs of the "slave market" near Damascus Gate in Jerusalem. Every morning they come in their thousands from all over the West Bank and wait for someone to come and pick them up for construction, cleaning or portage work--wearing clothes that have seen better days, a red or white kaffiyeh on their heads, and carrying a plastic bag. The porters are picked up by trucks waiting for goods to be delivered, while the construction workers, pavers and plasterers assemble at street corners. A stranger passing by will be stared at by dozens of pairs of eyes--perhaps he is looking for a porter or a cleaning man or for diggers for construction work.

The accepted tariff is 15-20 new shekels per day for an ordinary worker, and 30-40 for a professional plasterer or paver. From a talk with these people there emerges a harsh picture of unemployment in the construction field. The winter season also causes a drop in demand for workers. In two or three months--so they believe--work will be available again. In the meantime they while away the time in the hope of finding a day's work here and there. Among them are people who have not worked for over three months. They refrain from turning to employment bureaux, mainly on account of the low salaries paid through them.

About one-third of the labor force in Judea, Samaria and Gaza--80,000-90,000 workers--are employed in Israel. Half of them in an organized manner, via employment bureaux. The rest are unorganized. The "organized" receive work permits via the Military Administration and the employment bureaux, and are referred to work places according to requests from employment bureaux inside Israel. They receive their salaries from the payroll department of the Labor Ministry's Employment Bureau, which collects their wages from the employers and deducts income tax and national insurance fees. Organized laborers are entitled to social conditions such as annual leave and convalescence pay, holiday pay, clothing compensation, sick leave pay, compensation for work accidents, old age pension, disability pension, mutual insurance and health services. They are not entitled to old age and unemployment allowances, or to large-family insurance. The national insurance fees deducted from their wages are deposited in an accumulated fund in the treasury, part of which serves for development projects in Judea and Samaria.

The monthly average of workers from the territories employed in Israel in an organized manner in 1985 was 43,600 per day. One-quarter of them were employed in various service jobs--restaurants, hotels, cleaning work and municipal services; about 35 percent were employed in industry--textiles, metals, foods; approximately 10 percent in seasonal agricultural jobs--picking citrus, tomatoes and cucumbers; and around 30 percent of the workers in the multi-year average are employed in construction work. Due to the drop in new building starts last year their number plummeted from 20,000 in 1984 to about 10,000 today. This breakdown alters if we take into consideration unorganized labor employed mainly in construction, agriculture and services. The full picture that emerges is that approximately half the workers are employed in various construction and renovation jobs, 20 percent in industry and 10 percent in services.

According to Central Bureau of Statistics data, the level of unemployment in Judea and Samaria currently stands at about 4 percent of the 150,000-strong labor force, vs. 2 percent at the end of 1983. In Gaza it runs at 1.2 percent of an 85,000-strong labor force, vs. 0.6 percent in 1983.

Until recent years there was a certain division in the demand for labor between Israel, the territories and neighboring Arab countries. Between the Six-Day War and the Yom Kippur War the Israeli economy absorbed unemployment pockets in the territories without difficulty. The slowdown that followed the Yom Kippur War coincided with a period of prosperity in the oil countries, and tens of thousands of workers went to Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other countries in the region.

Over the last couple of years, and with the fall in oil prices, the exodus of Judea, Samaria and Gaza workers to neighboring countries diminished, but the Israeli economy is incapable of absorbing the superfluous workers. Civil Administration data show, however, that the incoming number is still larger than the outgoing, although the gap between outgoing and incoming has been considerably reduced.

A central problem defying a proper solution is the employment of academics. Dozens of academics who fail to find a job graduate every year from universities in the territories. If we add to these the number of students returning home from their studies in neighboring Arab countries, in Eastern European and in the U.S., we shall reach 5,000 (according to an administration estimate) or 10,000 (according to sources in the field) unemployed academics or graduates working in casual, unprofessional jobs. The academics in question are mainly humanities and social science graduates, as well as engineers, physicians, teachers and the holders of semi-academic professions such as draftsmen, cost accountants and journalists. The Israeli market is closed to them, and they cannot find employment in Arab countries either. Deputy coordinator of activities in the territories, Colonel Freddie Zach, mentions indefatigable efforts aimed at resolving the problem. Zach speaks of contacts with international voluntary organizations with a view to setting up various projects in the territories so as to create jobs for academics.

The slowdown in the Israeli economy caused a 5-7 percent drop in the number (of territories residents) employed in Israel, the majority of whom have found work in the territories. The wage erosion has considerably reduced the attraction of Israeli economy. While in the past the ratio between wages (earned through work inside Israel) and wages in the territories stood at about 1:3--today the gap has been reduced or even eliminated. The level of unemployment in Judea, Samaria and Gaza is still within reasonable limits, and employment bureaux are capable of meeting the bulk of demand for work inside Israel. Yet the employment=security equation has not been forgotten. Existing contingency plans will enable, if the need arises, jobs to be provided to several thousand--no more than 10,000--in make-work jobs such as afforestation and road construction.

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CSO: 4400/138

ISRAEL

JORDAN RIFT SETTLEMENTS IN FINANCIAL DISTRESS

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 6 Mar 86 p 2

[Article by Menahem Horowitz]

[Text]

TIBERIAS. — The heads of the three regional councils in the Jordan Rift Valley this week decided to set up a joint action committee and began a public campaign to demand urgent government help for distressed settlements in the area.

The regional councils included kibbutzim, moshavim and one urban settlement in the area between the Dead Sea and the Beit She'an Valley.

The heads of the councils said that after 19 years of settlement in the Jordan Rift — since the Six-Day War — there were still only 900 families in the area. They charged that they have not received sufficient resources from the government — despite the fact that there was a national consensus that the area must be settled.

The settlements are suffering from

a shortage of means of support, approach roads and school and communal buildings.

Deputy Premier David Levy attended the meeting at which the joint committee was set up, and promised the heads of the three councils that he would raise their problems in the cabinet and would push for granting them aid.

At Moshav Biranit, on the border with Lebanon, hundreds of members of the five striking northern moshavim demonstrated next to the border crossing to protest against the failure of the Jewish Agency and the Agriculture Ministry to solve their financial problems.

At Moshav Zar'it, the first of the moshavim to go on strike, the male members yesterday agreed to requests by MKs and asked the settlement's women and children to return, three days after they left the settlement as part of the protest.

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CSO: 4400/136

ISRAEL

NATIONALIST SENTIMENTS AMONG ARABS INCREASE

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 6 Mar 86

[Article by Shefi Gabai, Arab affairs correspondent, originally published in MA'ARIV on 5 March 1986: "The 'Palestinization' of Israel's Arabs"]

[Text] A new study on Israel's Arabs finds that the worsening relations with Jews is a process that is on the rise so together with a rise in the Arabs' political consciousness. The Arabs of Galilee, the triangle, and even bedouins in the Negev are today not ceasing to make demands which are directed toward getting them their share of the national pie. These demands are already bringing about extra-parliamentary organizing which is liable to determine the image of government in Israel, since the Arabs presently comprise 17 percent of the country's overall total population and 10 percent of all the voters in Knesset elections. Thus the Arab sector's political clout is potentially worth 12 Knesset seats.

The study was conducted by Raanan Cohen, until recently the Labor Party's adviser on Arab affairs, within the framework of his studies for an M.A. degree in Tel Aviv University's Faculty of Humanities. It was based on Cohen's daily contact with the Arab sector over the course of many years. Cohen's conclusions are studded with warnings about the changes taking place in Israeli Arab society, in light of its transition from a traditional clan framework to a process of "Palestinization," against a backdrop of increasing affinity for the PLO.

The sense of their affinity for the PLO is quite discernible, especially among the younger generation. This generation has learned how to make its struggle against the Israeli establishment compatible with the legitimate rules of the game as it's played in Israel. For example, this generation is apt to join Arab parties defined as "nationalist" and refrain from forming frameworks, such as the "Al-Ard" (land) movement, which was outlawed at the time.

The researcher found that nationalist protest organizations are already being legally formed. Seemingly naive, over the course of time are liable to become the focus of considerable influence. The "committees" of these organizations are prominent, such as the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Municipalities and the Committee for Defending the Lands. The platforms of these organizations are vague but focused, at the present time, on the struggle for

equal rights, or on the struggle against the confiscation of land. However, there is no absence of genuine political movements, radical movements which are maintaining a low profile, such as the "Village Sons," the "Progressive National Movement" and others, which see themselves as part of a united PLO. There is also the "Young Moslems" movement, which is influenced by the Islamic revival in Arab lands.

The author argues that these forces on the Israeli Arab street are becoming more crystallized. However, at the present time they're concealing the nationalist aspect of the struggle and are focusing on questions of furthering the Israeli Arabs' living standard. The leading body, which is capable of forming a united Arab party, is the National Committee of Heads of Arab Local Municipalities. This body succeeded in demonstrating its strength in the course of "Land Days" and in organizing demonstrations and strikes. This committee is now displaying increasing activity in such areas as comparing funding given to Jewish and Arab municipalities, the struggle for equal rights, and more. This party, if it materializes, is likely to compete for Arab votes which until now have gone to Zionist parties as well as Rakah and the Progressive List for Peace.

According to the author, the element of Moslem leadership is today also being reinforced on the Arab street. Until now Rakah, for example, was led primarily by notables from the Christian community, but their reduced standing in light of the Islamization of the nationalist struggle is encouraging the entry of Moslem leaders into the arena. The leadership of the "Progressive List" is Moslem. It is already difficult to find Christians among local council heads. This process parallels the fluctuations in the relative weight of the communities due to the high natural increase rate among the Moslems.

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CSO: 4400/138

ISRAEL

DECLINE IN CALIBER OF IDF PERSONNEL REPORTED

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 6 Mar 86

[Article by Yigal Lev, originally published in MA'ARIV on 6 March 1986: "The IDF: The Lost Initiative"]

[Text] The IDF resembles an over-spoiled gifted child who suddenly wakes up to find himself a grown boy, reproach-laden, bearing the scars of the Yom Kippur War and the barbs of alarmed--almost hysterical--public criticism which is peeling off one by one the adornments that same public had bestowed on its darling son. He then goes off to the Lebanon war only to return humbled, reprimanded. Speaking of this child, Major General Yossi Peled, who has just ended his term as head of the IDF's Training Department, this week observed that "there is a danger that officers are growing into squad commanders on a larger scale...This leads to the emergence of limited commanders lacking in initiative."

This kid, who has been accused of manifesting the "small head" (roughly: low profile) syndrome, now hears from his top brass that his officers may turn out to be limited...

The trouble is that the kid in question is me, you, all of us.

This kid, who was ruinously pampered for years on end--years when you couldn't unwrap a piece of gum without the photo of some major general dropping out of the wrapper; when he was praised to the skies in books and enveloped by legends, tales and the love of the people, whose fascinated eyes were riveted on him--this child grew up, and suddenly found himself lacking in self-confidence, worried about his image and--worst of all--facing a real Syrian threat that could turn into a new war in no time.

When a child grows up to be "limited and lacking in initiative," his parents ought to be taken to task for having raised him this way. Major General Peled seems to have forgotten this rule in his criticism. Senior IDF officers bear the bulk of responsibility for the deplorable developments we have witnessed recently. A soldier was killed in Lebanon, and four wounded. The terrorists who attacked them got off scot-free. Two soldiers were abducted from the Lebanese security zone. Soldiers were stabbed in the Hebron Casbah. All these indicate that something is creaking in that huge and well-oiled machine called the IDF.

The erosion in the officers' standing can be traced back to objective reasons as well. As a battery (company) commander in the past I felt more independent, enterprising and self-confident than senior unit commanders today. IDF units are currently grouped into divisions, in whose vast frameworks the standing of a battalion commander is dwarfed into that of a company--or perhaps even a platoon--commander in the past. The IDF has failed to cope with the problem of building up larger frameworks, of running them while preserving the most sacred value: a commander's initiative in the field. For in the great wars we have fought, the individual commander's initiative, intuition and courage have sometimes decided the fate of a major battle.

The officers' cadre is further undermined by yet another factor. With the passage of time, the IDF is being conceived by some of its officers as a way of life and a career in which advancement is similar to that in a government institution. I have thus increasingly come across the paradox that brave officers who proved their mettle on the battlefield knuckle under in confrontations with their superiors (so as not) to jeopardize their careers. I participated in many debriefing sessions of division maneuvers. It's customary that following a division exercise (especially if the division is a regular one), senior division officers sit with the chief of staff (C-O-S) and his staff for a summing-up session.

It was on these occasions that I saw the phenomenon insistently repeating itself. Officers who were critical in the field and were able to point out blunders that harmed the exercise became submissive and even hypocritical in the way they papered over the same blunders they had criticized before. I also encountered it during wars. Operation "Peace for Galilee" is a typical example. Brigade commanders stationed in Lebanon expressed themselves to me in a style by whose side Eli Geva's statements paled into insignificance--yet never forgot to add: "Don't you write a single word."

I remember one case in which the C-O-S dismissed an officer whose rank was parallel to that of a brigade commander because one of his soldiers was killed in training. I was serving as a reservist in a regular division at the time. Brigade commanders who returned from the discussion said: "From now on, we'll try to reduce live-fire training as much as possible. How can I as brigade commander accept responsibility for a disaster in one of the battalions?" The IDF has long been haunted by this problem. Who is responsible for training accidents? The senior rank seeks to place responsibility at a lower level, which gives rise to the phenomenon dubbed "the umbrella" in IDF parlance, i.e. I open an umbrella over my own head without caring whether those around me will get wet. What's important is that I stay dry.

To this can be added the officers' impatient race for promotion. The minimal period of time that must elapse between two given ranks has catapulted officers in an almost mad race from the rank of company commander to battalion commander to brigade commander, with a two-year period--sometimes even less--elapsing between one post and another. An officer, even the most talented, must hold a post for over a year before he starts being a first-rate officer. The year in question should be devoted to the acquisition of self-confidence, control of his men and his equipment. Yet no sooner has he learned his job

and specialized in it, than he finds himself with a new job in that exhausting, nerve-racking race officers are engaged in for the sake of promotion.

Assad is threatening a war in the north. If he carries out his threats as Sadat translated his own speeches into the Yom Kippur War, the IDF will have to enter a new war. I believe that the IDF officers (Assad) will confront on the battlefield will not be "limited and lacking in initiative." This is a mission for Major General Peled and his senior colleagues in the IDF to accomplish.

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CSO: 4400/138

ISRAEL

IDF OPERATIONAL NORMS CRITICIZED

Jerusalem GOVERNMENT PRESS OFFICE in English 6 Mar 86

[Article by Reuven Pedatzur, military correspondent, originally published in HA'ARETZ on 4 March 1986: "Operational Norms in the IDF: What's Happening?"]

[Text] "Something's screwed up at the operational level, and even more so in the determination of the soldiers. How is it possible that you run into an ambush, one soldier is killed, four others are wounded, and the terrorists get off without a scratch? The whole squad gets away without being hurt, and we don't even have a clue who they were. Sure, I know the old argument that says incidents like this are inevitable when we're wandering around in Lebanon. First, we can and have to prevent them even in Lebanon. And second, unfortunately, serious occurrences are showing up in other activity too. The Jordan Rift Valley and Hebron surely aren't in Lebanon."

The speaker is an officer with a wealth of combat experience. The problem, in his view, isn't the personal level of the young soldiers, but the norms that have taken root in the IDF in recent years.

The kind of operational level that in the past would have generated trenchant clarifications and led to the dismissal of officers, today evokes no special emotion. Whereas in the past steadfastness in the execution of one's mission was inscribed on the army's banner, of late both soldiers and officers who haven't shown such steadfastness are getting a pat on the shoulder.

A few days after the abduction of the two soldiers in Lebanon, I happened on a conversation between two veteran paratroopers: "I don't believe that in our day two of us would have been abducted from a car without a few bodies being left on the other side. But look what happened this time. I don't understand what's happening to the youngsters today."

True, old-timers always talk about the past with a touch of nostalgia. Yet the conversation of the two veteran paratroopers seems to provide an indication of what is worrying so many IDF officers today. The military thinking of the two paratroopers is simply grounded in a different set of norms. That system of norms, which was held by IDF soldiers for many years, has been severely eroded in recent years. There's no doubt that the erosion gained momentum during the IDF's stay in Lebanon. But the real problem now facing

the army isn't to pinpoint the sources of the erosion in the operational norms of the soldiers, but to cope with it.

Many of the officers whom I talked to about this matter admitted that they felt very uneasy. One of the evils they point to is human infringement of the basic norm relating to crime and punishment. It all starts in training, they say. In many cases, sloppy and even inefficient performance of the exercises, and violations of procedures and orders, do not produce incisive clarifications at the level of commander. It sometimes appears that the promotion of many officers is wholly unrelated to the operational capacity they evince in their duties. Most serious of all is the "closing" of matters by the senior command circle. Often when the mistake in execution is too glaring, or when there are wounded among our soldiers, a scapegoat is found from among the officers who aren't part of the senior circle.

"If a soldier is wounded during a brigade exercise," says a senior officer, "it is inconceivable to court-martial the battalion commander to trial, while the brigade commander, far from being involved in the legal proceedings, is actually promoted to a more senior position." Cases like that cause severe erosion in the area of personal example, which is one of the foundations of a properly run army.

Thus soldiers are trained in an atmosphere in which in many cases the desire "not to get involved" becomes the main thing. Such an atmosphere obviously has a destructive influence on the role of both soldier and officer in operational activity. Adherence to the goal and steadfast performance become of secondary importance, initiative and originality are shunted aside in favor of routine, "square" actions, which will not get their perpetrators into trouble or call for explanations at a future date. There is no escaping the feeling that instead of demanding that the army make greater efforts to surpass a certain level, the preference is often to lower the level and to take pride in soldiers who pass it.

The investigation of the incident in which two soldiers were kidnapped in southern Lebanon, throws light on the activity of an IDF officer who was travelling in one of the vehicles of the attacked convoy. When the firing began, the officer jumped into a nearby ditch, in order to find shelter. A few minutes later, a local resident stepped into the ditch, patted the Israeli officer on the shoulder and said: "That's it buddy, you can get out now, the firing has ended. But just so you know, they've taken two of your soldiers."

The danger latent in this deteriorating condition is aggravated by a conspiracy of silence. It appears that many officers are aware of and troubled by the deterioration. But the IDF does not encourage discussion of the issue: The officers and soldiers' agonizings and deliberations are generally carried out in strict secrecy. On the surface, everything is in order. The hitches are part of the routine and there is no reason for concern which would require a change of approach, or special deployment to brake the down-hill slide.

There are almost no secrets in the IDF. Anyone with eyes in his head who is even slightly knowledgeable about what's going on in the various units, discerns the deterioration and erosion. Almost every combat officer knows by heart the details of events such as the stabbing of the soldiers in the Casbah of Hebron, the ambush in the Jordan Rift Valley, the abduction of the two soldiers in southern Lebanon and the ambush in which Corporal Malka was killed last week. They are also well aware that the responses of the senior command echelon do not indicate that "there at the top they really appreciate that the situation is not too good."

Thus among officers a cynical approach evolves, which is fraught with danger. More and more often one hears people say: "If this is the IDF image the senior command wants to create, who are we to stand in their way?"

A senior reserve officer who addressed the issue this week said that in its history the IDF has had its ups and downs, a sort of sinusoid. At present, he said, the army finds itself in one of those down periods. But this time, seemingly, we are falling so far down that afterwards it will be difficult to climb out.

The hint of generalization in all of the above naturally does injustice to and harms many soldiers and officers who function impeccably, and who personify the opposite of all that has been said. But the intent is to point out the evil spirit felt in the ranks. If this spirit is not curbed in time, it could cause an avalanche: Its nature is such that it does not immediately drag along with it the entire structure, but gradually erodes its foundations.

Only the personal involvement of the senior command will be able to bring about the necessary change. In fact, in this instance, the initiative of the chief of staff himself is called for.

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CSO: 4400/138

SAUDI ARABIA

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF RAILROADS REVIEWS FUTURE PLANS

Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 11 Jan 86 p 9

[Interview with General Railroad Organization Director General His Excellency Faysal al-Shuhayl, by Muhammad al-Qarni and Sa'id al-Ghamidi: "4.4 Billion Saudi Riyals to Carry Out the Projects in the Railroad's Third 5-Year Plan"; place and date not specified]

[Text] The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia's General Railroad Organization is working to carry out a number of projects to serve the national economy, including a proposed rail line from Riyadh to al-Qasim, another from Dammam to the Jubayl Industrial City, a plant to manufacture freight cars, an integrated service complex in Dammam, and the computerization of high-speed train traffic to Riyadh.

Director General of the Kingdom's General Railroad Organization His Excellency Faysal al-Shuhayl explained all this during a comprehensive interview with 'UKAZ, starting off by reviewing the organization's accomplishments during the third 5-year plan.

Maintenance of the Dammam-Riyadh Line

He said, "During the third 5-year plan, the old line extending from King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Port and passing through Dammam, Dhahran, Abqaiq, Hofuf, 'Ayn, Harad, and al-Kharj and ending at Riyadh was renovated. This 565-kilometer line was improved by the addition of new rails and crossties, since the traffic now consists of freight trains. The new line runs alongside the old one as far as Hofuf and then heads off towards Khurays, reducing the distance to Riyadh by about 120 kilometers. Furthermore, new stations, in the latest Arab-Islamic style, have been built in Dammam, Hofuf and Riyadh, to be followed by other stations in coming budgets, God willing. Several facilities have been constructed, such as maintenance shops and storage depots. New cars and locomotives have been purchased, and manpower has been trained as well. The only thing left is to put a signals system into practice, in order to prevent accidents and ensure safe locomotive traffic. The projects in this plan have cost more than 4.4 billion Saudi riyals."

The Suitability of the Lines to Climatic Conditions

Discussing the suitability of railway line design to the Kingdom's climatic extremes, particularly in the Eastern Province, al-Shuhayl said, "Actually, there are small expansion gaps every couple of meters. When the new line was being designed, consideration was given to welding the rails. However, iron rails expand in the summer and contract in the winter. We don't have a problem with cold in the winter, but we do have a problem with heat in the summer. Therefore, expansion gaps were made all along the line, and in addition there is continual maintenance."

Sand Dune Barriers

He added, "We also have a problem with sand dunes drifting over the line, thus impeding traffic. We have mobilized about 600 workers to clear away these sand dunes and to build barriers to prevent them from drifting. We also use some machines for this task.

"We don't face this problem with the railroad alone, but with highways as well. The University of Petroleum and Minerals in Dhahran is working with the Communications Ministry and the railroad organization in preparing studies of this problem. Once a solution is reached, it must be applied everywhere. Hofuf has been successful in establishing a green belt around the city."

Modern Locomotives

Referring to the locomotives and cars which have been ordered recently, al-Shuhayl said, "The engines which pull cars are different from the cars themselves. The engines are machines to pull passenger and freight cars. In the past, they were not equipped with communications equipment; things are different now, for they are provided with various equipment, such as a covered refrigeration unit to prevent the dust from getting in. So much for the engines. As for the cars, there are two types. The first is for freight, and consists of flat-bed cars for hauling general cargo and other, specialized cars for transporting fuels. The General Railroad Organization transports fuels for PETROMIN in special tank cars. Furthermore, there is the grain silo project, and the transfer and customs clearing of containers in Riyadh, which reduces the burden on King 'Abd-al-'Aziz Port in Dammam and at the same time helps merchants clear their goods in Riyadh instead of going to Dammam."

A Rail Line To Link the Central and the Western Provinces

Speaking of the idea of extending a rail line from Riyadh to al-Qasim or al-Ta'if, Shuhayl said, "Studies on this have been awarded to some consulting companies and offices, who will examine the economic feasibility of building such a line in comparison to other transport means. If the idea is found to be feasible, then without a doubt our enlightened government will not hesitate to carry out such a project to link the Western Province with the Central Province."

Linking GCC States By Rail

With respect to the idea of linking the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states in the future by a standardized rail line, al-Shuhayl said, "This project comes under the jurisdictions of the GCC countries' transportation and communications ministries. As far as I know, a consulting company has been retained to study the matter. I don't know what results have been reached by this study, or whether the idea has been approved or not."

The Use of Computers in Locomotive Activity

With respect to the application of computer systems in the Kingdom's railroad services, al-Shuhayl remarked, "We have introduced computers into depots and into procurement, employee affairs, and administrative affairs offices, and we will later computerize the movement of the many locomotives going to and from Riyadh. At present, a computerized signals and radio communications system is in use in engine traffic, and computers will gradually be put to use in all sections of the organization."

Combined Passenger-Automobile Trains

As for transporting automobiles on freight trains, al-Shuhayl replied, "At the present time, we transport automobiles via freight trains on a commercial basis. An automobile agent recently contracted with the organization to transport automobiles to Riyadh and clear them through customs there. We have thought of transporting automobiles on the same train as passengers, primarily in the east-central region, because the passenger would benefit greatly from being able to ship his car along with him and clear it quickly in only 20 minutes. The combined auto-passenger train plan will be given to some company by bid, and it might take a whole year for the idea to materialize. The whole idea, of course, is to encourage people to travel by train, so as to avoid automobile accidents. In 2 or 3 months, God willing, passenger trains will be equipped with telephones, so that travellers can call any city in the Kingdom from the train."

A Plant to Manufacture Freight Cars in the Kingdom

Referring to the manufacture of freight cars, al-Shuhayl added, "There is no doubt that it would take years to establish plants to manufacture train cars. However, thought has been given to manufacturing freight cars in the Kingdom; some merchants have suggested this to the General Railroad Organization, and the board has looked into the matter and has encouraged it. A third party --the Arab Investment Bank--has been brought in as a partner in this plant, along with the Saudi railroad authority. We have begun the initial steps, which are not yet completed, but the licensing already exists."

Establishing an Integrated Service Complex

In response to a question as to what has been done about a hotel and shopping center being built at the train station by the real estate and the hotel companies, Faysal al-Shuhayl said, "The agreement with the hotel company still

stands, and when the new station is finished it will be moved from the old station. The Saudi Hotels Company and the General Railroad Authority have set up a new company in Dammam, called the Real Estate Company, to build hotels, shops, parking areas, and grocery stores, which will constitute an "integrated complex" for commercial units and public services. This project has been delayed for a re-examination of its economic feasibility. The project may be carried out in several stages instead of all at once."

We Want To Cover Costs

As to whether the railroad can cover its expenses without relying on other sources, al-Shuhayl commented, "This is one of the goals we are striving to achieve. The railroad organization has a long-range plan for covering its expenses completely, and the first step has been taken with the Hotels Company and with some other small companies. I can frankly say that the organization cannot cover its expenses within a short period of time, 5 years, for example, since it will take us more than 10 years to overcome some of our problems. As for extending more rail lines to other areas, that is yet another matter."

We Want To Attract Saudi Personnel

Discussing the role of the railroad training centers and their achievements in the technical training of Saudi manpower, al-Shuhayl remarked, "The first vocational railroad training center was set up 30 years ago, and most of those now working in this field have graduated from it. The organization relies greatly on their outstanding technical expertise. About 10 years after it was founded, the center was closed temporarily, and was then reopened 6 years ago.

"Last year, many new young people, graduates of elementary and intermediate schools, enrolled in it for preparation and training for employment with the organization. We are constantly working to find new ways to encourage them and attract them to this field. We now have several fully-equipped workshops and a highly-educated and scientifically skilled faculty. The diplomas which the trainees receive from this center are recognized by the Civil Service Commission."

Saudization Is A Patriotic Duty

With respect to the program to Saudize the railroad, al-Shuhayl said, "All the section chiefs are senior railroad employees who have outstanding expertise. Nevertheless, we are trying to attract new faces, and we have actually sought the aid of engineers who have graduated from the University of Petroleum and Minerals. We are still trying to attract many new young people to replace the senior employees when they retire in the future. As for Saudizing any government department, this is a patriotic duty which takes precedence over anything else. The problem lies in the fact that the citizen himself does not respond to this Saudization effort, even though the Civil Service Commission has stressed the need to fill positions with Saudis. We have made great progress in replacing contract employees with highly-skilled Saudi employees, to the point where Saudis constitute about 70 percent of our work force. God willing, these positions will be totally Saudized in the future."

University Specialization in Railroad Studies

With reference to the idea of setting up university sections and specializations in railroad studies, with the cooperation of the organization and the universities, so as to graduate railroad specialists, al-Shuhayl said, "This is a good idea, but the problem is that if such a specialized section were to be established, the young Saudi who entered it would have no other field of employment than the railroad, especially since this agency is not widespread enough for a university to teach specialized subjects in this field. However, help can be sought from the vocational institutes. The idea is no doubt good enough for a university to adopt it, but some of them would not support the idea of setting up a college or specialized section because the young people would not accept the idea. If the railroad field expands, however, there would be an opportunity to establish such a college."

Greater Acceptance Of the Railroad

In response to a question about the railroad's recent accomplishments, he said, "There has been no noticeable progress recently, for this has been a time of construction and repairs. However, beginning last September, after the completion of the rail line which shortened the distance to Riyadh, the number of passengers, especially on the weekends, increased so much that many of them could not find places on the train. We will increase the number of trips as soon as the new stations are completed. Also, once the telephone services, the signals and the radio communications systems are put into effect, the number of passengers can be expected--nay, is sure--to increase."

The People of Hofuf Prefer the Train

Discussing the effect the construction of new rail lines has had on the Saudi airlines, especially at the al-Ahsa' Airport, al-Shuhayl remarked, "The trip from Riyadh to al-Ahsa' can be cut to two and a half hours by using the train. The trip by air might take longer than that, because it takes half an hour to get to Riyadh from the Riyadh Airport. The people of Hofuf undoubtedly prefer the train to the airplane.

"There are several ways to go from Dammam to Riyadh, including the highway, which has shortened the travel time to about three and a half hours, in addition to the railroad. Both ways are much better now than they were, and have affected air travel, because they are becoming more acceptable. This is a blessing, praise God, and shows the state's concern for providing means of transportation."

Several Housing Projects for Employees

With respect to the railroad organization's housing projects for its employees, he said, "We have built several housing projects. We built some housing units in the neighborhood of the head offices, as well as the "al-Nasiriyah Quarter" on the Dammam-Khobar highway, another quarter for singles, and two apartment buildings. We have about 16 apartment buildings in Riyadh, and

a number of housing units for employees in Hofuf, al-Kharj, Abqaiq and Harad. There is a recreation center with playgrounds, soccer fields, tennis courts, and an enclosed playing field. His Majesty King Fahd bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz has granted lots located in the best areas of Riyadh to railroad employees who have served more than 15 years."

Building New Rail Lines

Discussing the General Railroad Organization's future plans, al-Shuhayl said, "We have now met many of the organization's needs, and the Planning Ministry and the General Railroad Organization are studying the possibility of extending new rail lines in the future. If this is proven feasible, the organization can build them, even if it takes a long time."

Setting Up a Railroad Exhibit

Concerning the idea of establishing an exhibit or museum to depict the organization's progress from its founding to the present time, al-Shuhayl remarked, "The idea exists at present, but there are some small obstacles to achieving this idea, which we will overcome, God willing. We still have the first locomotive ever used on the Kingdom's railroads."

In response to a question about the weekly passenger volume, he noted, "The number of railroad passengers is still limited, and amounts to about 1,400 travellers each day. Very soon we will increase the number of trips. I believe that the ticket prices are acceptable and reasonable--first class costs 60 riyals, and second class costs 40 riyals. The use of a high-speed, non-stop train between Abqaiq and Hofuf has been considered."

Replying to a question about the organization's economic return from the containerized station (the customs station) in Riyadh, he said, "Around the world, railroads are considered important utilities serving the economy. The railroad has a undeveloped economic return, meaning that it is a means of transporting passengers and goods. This land port was set up in Riyadh to promote shipping at lower-than-usual tarriffs. It is equipped with everything it needs to attract shippers. We have been highly successful here, to such an extent that our income from shipping exceeds our passenger income.

"There is no doubt that a diversity of means of transport is of great service to the economy. Whenever there are many means of communications, the prices drop, and the reverse also holds.

"Praise God, the Kingdom has recently completed a vast network of roads and railroad projects."

With reference to maintaining and protecting the residential areas through which the railroads pass, al-Shuhayl commented, "A plan for building walls has been studied and incorporated into the budget. However, there are many difficulties in the way, since there must be pedestrian crosswalks. The Communications Ministry wants to carry out a long-range program to increase the number of bridges."

High-Speed Trains To Be Used Soon

In response to a question about the possibility that high-speed trains going over 200 kilometers an hour might be used, al-Shuhayl added, "Such high-speed trains are now in use in Japan, France and Germany. As for the Kingdom, our trains, the so-called "diesel electric" trains, can go only 160 kilometers an hour. Speeds in excess of 200 kilometers an hour require electric trains. At present, we would like to use this kind of train once the line is converted into an electric line in the future. However, if we increase the speed without providing barriers along both sides of the line, there will be accidents and disasters, God forbid."

Speaking of his visits to other Arab countries, he said, "I have visited several Arab and European countries, the most recent being Mauritania, where rail lines are used to serve the mines. Mauritania's transportation means are quite advanced, since railroad services there have been computerized for some time. In the course of these visits, I looked into many areas, such as the transfer and exchange of technical expertise and the use of Mauritanian technicians if necessary. My other visits were to countries quite advanced in the transportation field, such as Japan, France and Germany."

The Ownership of Land Alongside the Lines

Replying to a question about who owns the land lying alongside the railroad lines, al-Shuhayl remarked, "In most cases, the area lying within approximately 200 meters of the rail line belongs to the railroad. Land ownership is established by legal deed before the line is built, and in such cases the railroad takes only about 50 meters.

"If the ownership of the land is established after the line is built, then the railroad owns 200 meters on either side of the line."

We Have Built Huge Depots

On this same subject, al-Shuhayl commented, "In more and more cases, we rent farm land traversed by railroad lines in order to make the view more attractive. Furthermore, in Riyadh, Hofuf and Dammam we have built several large depots, which are a source of financial income for the railroad."

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SAUDI ARABIA

OFFICIAL DISCUSSES FUNCTIONS OF LABOR OFFICES

Jeddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 11 Jan 86 p 10

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Ahmad al-Yahya, by Hasan Mani' Abu-Saqq: "Labor Force Legislation Covers Job Applications, Transfer of Sponsorship, and Work Permits"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The directors of labor offices in Abha, Wadi al-Dawasir, Mecca, al-Ta'if, Bishah and al-Bahah recently concluded their meetings in Najran, chaired by Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Affairs His Excellency Ahmad al-Yahya, during which they discussed various issues and sought the solutions needed for the problems facing workers and employers.

Right after these meetings, 'UKAZ interviewed Ahmad al-Yahya about the recently issued directives concerning the transfer of sponsorship, which were primarily intended to help the private sector and contribute to employment stability. Prior to these new directives, transfer of sponsorship had led to massive migrations within sectors, impairing productivity and opening the door to an epidemic of job-hunting.

His Excellency stressed that the labor offices have successfully found job opportunities for citizens of all categories and qualifications, and indicated that a new strategy is being prepared for subsequent application in all labor offices, so that they can function according to ministry goals.

He also pointed out that the labor offices handled 50,000 cases last year, because these offices operate according to a carefully studied plan which is in step with development in the Kingdom's economic and private sectors. A "facsimile" system has been introduced in order to facilitate communications between the labor offices and the ministry, so that data can be transmitted and stored. Efforts are also being made to computerize all the labor offices' activities and to provide training courses for new ministry employees. The text of the interview follows.

Periodic Meetings

Our first question was about the topics discussed at the meetings. Al-Yahya said, "These are periodic meetings, which we regularly hold with labor offices in the provinces. We always ask them to prepare agendas which include all aspects of daily life in the field, and the day-to-day difficulties which the directors of these labor offices might encounter while carrying out their duties. They submit these agendas to us so that the ministry can read them over and add any topics we might think of. Therefore, such meetings cover many topics, which can be classed into four principal labor force topics. The first includes job applications, transfer of sponsorship, and work permits. Next comes the matter of cases, which involves several points pertaining to handling the disputes which the labor forces must resolve in a suitable manner, and the possibility of finding new, more effective means of handling such disputes.

"The third topic pertains to inspection and the discussion of inspection plans for the various sectors, and also involves private sector activities and other measures relating to administrative, staff and financial matters within the offices themselves. Leading officials from the deputy ministry for labor affairs, such as the labor force director, the general planning and budget director, and the general director for legal affairs, take part in the discussion of these topics. At this point the ministry shifts over to field work to discuss matters with executive leaders, so that matters can be handled more realistically and the ministry's and labor offices' desires to provide the best possible services to all involved can be achieved.

A Leading Role

Speaking of the labor offices' role in hiring Saudi manpower and regulating employment and job applications in general, al-Yahya said, "All flattery aside, they play a leading role, since they are the government agency charged with the task of finding job opportunities for citizens of whatever category and training. In addition, the labor offices always classify job applicants according to how much education they have had, since this reflects on the development of the society, and enroll Saudi manpower in the development process. Nevertheless, we cannot say that we have carried out this role in its full sense. But we are confident that with greater effort, we will be able to attract more Saudi manpower to the employment field. In the future, God willing, we will be able to prepare a sound framework for employing citizens in private sector jobs and to construct a strategy in step with the requirements of job-seekers. Furthermore, God willing, we will apply this strategy throughout all the labor offices, so that they can function according to ministry goals."

We Do Not Answer Their Applications

Referring to the labor offices' pursuit of fictitious organizations, Ahmad al-Yahya said, "We do not approve of any such organization, although there are some fictitious organizations operating secretly. The problem is that the owners of these organizations set them up for the sole purpose of establishing a so-called "special project" or "private organization" which exists

only on paper. What they are trying to do is make a profit, one way or another. In any case, we are not concerned about such organizations, and the labor offices do not process applications obviously submitted by these organizations. Therefore, in many cases they can respond to many job applicants by informing them that they don't need an employment application. I don't believe that these fictitious organizations will ever surpass the labor offices located in all the towns and villages, because the latter are well-informed about the types of jobs wanted in the private sector and the practical fields pursued there. For this reason, labor offices deal only with individuals who offer regular, approved jobs."

3 Million Workers In the Private Sector

Speaking of the labor offices' role in solving problems and disputes arising between workers and owners of organizations and companies, al-Yahya said, "Praise God, all the cases and disputes which reach us are limited to rights and the termination of contracts, which makes them normal cases not involving any complications which would make it hard for these offices or employment commissions to solve them. Luckily, the labor offices have been able to solve many of these cases, of which there were 50,000 last year. All were individual, not group, cases. This is not such a huge number when compared to the size of the labor force, which amounts to 2 to 3 million Saudi and resident workers in the private sector."

Our Function Is That Of a Catalyst

Al-Yahya said of the future plans for developing labor offices and improving their performance, "The real function of the labor offices is that of a catalyst and a moving force, since they are in daily contact with the country's economic and social fields and with all the innovations and changes in employment activity. From the societal angle, the labor offices are seeing changes in the categories of Saudi workers, and a surprising number of demands for improved working conditions. When we began holding meetings 4 or 5 years ago, the agenda would cover 10 pages, but later on we were surprised to see the number of pages grow to conclude new topics. We feel that the labor offices must keep in constant touch with the development of the economy and the private sector, so as to update and develop their input. Right now we are trying to create a network for coordination and cooperation among all labor offices throughout the Kingdom. As part of this network, we have introduced the "facsimile" system to make it easy for all the labor offices to contact the ministry to obtain date, first of all, and to inquire into any transactions or topics they might want to study. We started putting this system into practice this year, and praise God we have been able to exchange information and solve many problems. We have also conducted the computerization studies needed for programming all the activities of the labor offices and giving them the opportunity to exchange information with each other.

"As for improving performance, 2 years ago, working with the management institute, we began offering training programs for labor and inspection office employees in the areas of inspection, behavioral and procedural methods, give-and-take, persuasion, dealing with company owners, methods for transferring articles of work, discussion skills, and other labor issues, so as to provide all our employees with the expertise and skills needed for investigative work."

Training Before Appointment

He continued, "Our latest step is to put all new employees with the Labor Ministry offices through a 2-year training course at the administration institute in Riyadh, where they study all the activities of the Kingdom's labor offices. They are then hired at Grade 5 (for secondary school graduates). The idea is to improve their performance, help them keep up with the latest changes, and acclimate them to the all-inclusive development taking place in Saudi society."

A Service To the Employer

Referring to the new application method now being followed at the labor and application offices, al-Yahya said, "The purpose behind having the applicants present their applications directly to the labor offices is to provide a service to the applicant and make things easy for him, without his having to travel to a labor office if he lives in a village. By taking this step, the state (God grant it success) wanted to make things easy for the citizen--to go to him in his home instead of putting him to the trouble of traveling. In another sense, the labor office knows all the employers and what kinds of organizations and companies exist in its area, and can assess their needs very well. For this reason, the function of any labor office is to help the citizens without lengthening or complicating the process. Most of the applications which are submitted are studied right away and sent to the employers within a short time. But the employer must not rush the labor office's decision-making process, must be well-informed as to procedural requirements, and must be sensible and accurate in filling out lists, so that the application will not be delayed."

Application Guidelines

Speaking of the guidelines which manpower from outside the Kingdom must follow in applying for work, al-Yahya said, "These guidelines boil down to two things. There must be an actual need for the applicant, and there must be no Saudi citizen capable of doing the job, before the employer can request job applications from overseas. There are other subsidiary guidelines connected with procedures, justifications, and other items on the list of requirements, and any employer can find these out from the labor and application offices."

The New Directives Benefit the Employer

We asked, "What is new about the directives pertaining to transferring sponsorship, and what benefits are intended from their application?"

Al-Yahya replied, "The purpose behind these new directives issued with respect to transferring sponsorship is to serve the private sector and to contribute to employment stability as well. In the past, a fantastic number of sponsorships were transferred, which made things hard for the labor offices.

"However, when the matter was examined by the agencies involved, it was found that quite often there was plenty of scope for applications, and when the labor offices reviewed the applications, there was nothing anywhere preventing

them from fulfilling the applicant's need. This means that approval for the application was within the reach of anyone who submitted an application to the labor office."

"The new measures concerning sponsorship will serve many employers, since some of them have complained that once an application is accepted, the worker may not begin work for 4, 5 or 6 months--the standard time lapse in the past. The worker would also begin to be dissatisfied with the low pay and would look for another job, which would make things difficult for the employer, who would be forced to transfer this worker's sponsorship somewhere else. We have also observed the ease with which large numbers of workers moved around on the job market, the so-called 'mass migration within sectors,' which would shift thousands of workers from one activity to another. There is no doubt that this is not in the employer's interest, even though it benefits some workers. Therefore, we must protect economic activities, provide them with state support and protection, and help bring about job stability instead of the massive shifts and movements which in the end will definitely impair the private sector's productivity. This is the main purpose behind the new measures."

8559
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BANGLADESH

REPORTAGE ON ERSHAD'S 3 MARCH RADIO, TELEVISION SPEECH

Text of Speech

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Mar 86 p 8

[Excerpt]

The following is the English rendering of address to the nation over radio and television by President Hussain Mohammad Ershad on Sunday evening reports BSS.

Bismillabir Rahmanir Rahim

Dear Countrymen

Assalamu Alaikum,

After another few days, four years will be completed since the responsibility to run the country was vested in us. We had to take up this responsibility at a promulgated due to unavoidable reasons. [as published] When we took up the responsibility we had three major goals like some reforms in the socio-economic and administrative fields economic rehabilitation and transfer to democratic rule within a short time.

I had held out the assurance that we would place Bangladesh as a nation radiant in its own individuality before the world.

I have come before you today to tell something about the background of my assurance and also to announce an important decision.

We had assured of reforms the existing administrative system had the long nurtured socio-economic system in vogue in the country. No direct link between the administrative system and the people could grow up, the participation of people in administration does not arise.

Although lip service was paid to the principle that the people are the source of all power, yet in course of the first decade of our independence no practical effort was made to establish the people as the main element of control and execution of power.

We have tried to take the administration nearer to the common men. We undertook the step to decentralise the administration with a view to establishing the direct authority of the people on it. We did it from a point of realisation of its historic necessity. The upazila system is the first important step in that direction. For the first time in our history, the administrative executive power has been vested in the hands of the people's representatives.

Dear countrymen,

With the introduction of the upazila system the administration has not only gone nearer to the people but the power to adopt planning locally and implement it has also now been vested in their hands. Civil and criminal courts now have reached much nearer to the common men.

Decentralisation of the capital-based judiciary was equally necessary side by side with the decentralisation of the capital based administration.

We have therefore, decentralised the judiciary in conformity with the social reality and the hopes and aspirations of the people. The High Court branch of the Supreme Court are now in six centres outside the capital and the steps have helped the general people in availing of higher judicial facilities.

When the power was vested in us in 1982 the economy of the country was not at all in good shape. On the contrary it could be said that the economy was in a shattered condition. The foreign exchange reserve was abnormally low. The slowness in the industrial production had caused great concern. We had started our function with appalling food deficit.

The indiscriminate nationalisation in the industrial and commercial sectors did not help production. It also did not expedite. The industrialisation and the development and flourishing of national capital too. Rather the attempt had narrowed down the industrialisation and investment. Because of the unfavourable situation, the national economy was going to be in great danger of becoming crippled with foreign loans and turning into a market for foreign goods. Instead of production increase in the mills and factories the state exchequer was under heavy pressure and an anarchy was prevailing in the entire economy.

This situation was beyond the capacity of our society. It was urgently needed to end such a situation without delay not only to streamline our economy but also to protect our existence. It was a great challenge.

We had to face these challenges soon after our taking up the responsibility. We had to take up the hard and complicated programmes in the fields of industry, banks and insurance, production and capital development and capital investment.

And by the grace of Allah, we had succeeded in our programmes. We could successfully overcome the crisis and free the economy from the stagnant position by disinvesting capital from industry, banks and insurance and by paving the ways for private investment in the industrial sector. The rate of GDP in

1981-82 in the country was 1.61 per cent but it increased to 4.2 percent in the year 1984-85.

It was said that Bangladesh would live if 68 thousand villages live. Again sixty-eight thousand villages mean crores of peasants in the country, because peasants make up 80 percent of the country's population. Land and peasants are the backbone of our economy and they contribute the lion's share to the GDP.

Land reform is the precondition for the meaningful development in the agricultural sector. But this important work was neglected in the past. We took up this most urgent task on priority basis. We have brought about significant reform, to the centuries-old land tenure system. In our society agricultural labourers and farmers are perhaps the most deprived section. we have been able to take an honourable stand in respect of our wage structure. We have been able to end the perpetual uncertainty of the sharecroppers whose contribution to the agricultural production is most significant.

We believe that the fundamental reforms in administration economy and land ensure system have marked the beginning of a far reaching change in the socio-economic field. Our people have in the meantime started getting the benefits of these changes.

I have mentioned earlier that we began the work of running the government with critical food deficit. Damage of crops by successive natural calamities deepened that crisis still further. Many had expressed the apprehension that Bangladesh was going to face a famine still more devastating than that of 1974. I declared that we would not allow a single man to die of starvation. By the grace of Allah and with the united endeavours of the people administration and Armed Forces we had been able to face the calamity. Not a single man died of starvation.

Dear countrymen,

I pledged to establish Bangladesh with new dignity on the world's map, we shall give still greater dignity to everyman in a nation glorified with its own distinction.

The call for strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperation among the South Asian countries was first uttered from Bangladesh. That cherished objective has not taken shape. The summit of the Heads of State and Government of the seven South Asian countries was held on the soil of Bangladesh in December last. The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was born in the capital of Bangladesh. Leadership of this Association symbolising the friendship and cooperation of one hundred crore people of this region had been given to Bangladesh. Bangladesh today is representative of unity of 100 crore people.

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC) Foreign Ministers' conference was held in Dhaka. The unity of the Islami Ummah was consolidated at this conference. Bangladesh had achieved a higher dignity in the Muslim world.

General Assembly of the United Nations begins in September next. The upcoming UN Assembly will reflect the witness yet another manifestation of the recognition of this dignity of Bangladesh. Bangladesh will assume the presidency of the world body.

Our relations with all neighbouring countries have been elevated to a newer scale on the basis of sovereign equality our ties with all countries of the world are deeper today. Bangladesh, rich with the spirit of the great national liberation war of 1971, today stands with still greater self-confidence. By the side of the peace loving and freedom loving people of the world including those of Palestine, Namibia, Afghanistan and Kampuchea. Bangladesh today is the recognised voice of the deprived peoples of the world.

Dear countrymen,

Ever since I had taken over the administration of the country I have said time and again that the Martial Law was not a long-term or permanent arrangement for any country. I said my government and I believe in democracy. I also said that our objective was to establish a multi-party democratic society and to restore the constitutional rule on a firm institutional framework.

I have said, this is a Martial Law with a difference. The Martial Law had to be promulgated due to unavoidable reasons. But we have not abrogated the Constitution. We have suspended it. We did not want to throw the country into a Constitutional vacuum. When we announced our decision to hold elections on the basis of suspended Constitution some quarters proposed to amend the Constitution itself. Even some suggested holding of election, not on the basis of suspended Constitution but through a Martial Law decree. But I stood firm on the issue of Constitution. I told them clearly, we would not amend the Constitution by the power of Martial Law. The jurisdiction of amending the Constitution lies with the elected representatives of the people. Our allegiance to democratic system inspired us to take this stand.

From this realisation I had promised, when I took over the responsibility of the government, that we would return to a democratic system within two years. I had said that power would be transferred to elected representatives in phases. I believe that in order to ensure absolute sovereignty of the people and to make the democratic system complete power should be handed over to peoples representatives from the lower levels upto the national level.

Being true to my thinking and promise, I had first arranged for the elections of the union councils and the municipal councils. In the second phase, elections for the Upazila Chairmen were scheduled for 24th March, 1984. In the third phase date for the presidential polls was fixed on 24th May, 1984 keeping up with the suspended Constitution and application of the procedures of the 1978 polls. Some of the opposition groups and parties expressed their reservations about the decision of the government and demanded that parliamentary polls should be held before any other elections. In the interest of social amity and political harmony which my government placed above everything, the schedules for elections of the Upazila Chairmen and the presidential polls were declared postponed.

In keeping with the opinion of the Opposition parties and in honour of the suspended Constitution, we decided to hold the presidential and parliamentary polls on the same day. The polls date was fixed on May 27 and we expected that all quarters would accept our decision in its right perspective and without being emotional. But our hopes were not fulfilled and the polls had to be postponed once again.

My government and myself, then, invited the opposition parties for a national dialogue in the interest of political amity and understanding. We have always believed that delay in the peaceful transition to democracy would never do any good for the country and the nation.

During my national dialogue myself and my colleagues had talks with over 50 political parties. We had tried to understand their attitudes on the issues of elections and transition to democracy. The main political parties including the alliances had participated in the dialogue. They had informed us of their demands and stands regarding elections both verbally and in writing.

We had analysed their demands deeply and announced the decision of holding the parliament elections first as they had demanded with a view to honouring their opinion and to be faithful to our promise for restoration of democracy in the country at the earliest possible time. I had also realised their main pre-conditions and demands with a view to creating an atmosphere for holding free and fair elections.

Inspite of that the two opposition alliances had taken decision not to take part in elections which had really surprised the countrymen. The elections was postponed again. You are sure to remember as to how and why the elections had to be postponed at that time and why we had to go for reimposing the paraphernalia of military rule which had been withdrawn earlier.

They said that the reasons of their boycotting the elections then was that without the complete withdrawal of Martial Law the elections would not be free and fair. But they knew it very well that if Martial Law is withdrawn there will be a legal vacuum in the country. On this realisation of the reality, one of the component parties of an alliance had participated in the elections in 1970, 1978 and 1979 under Martial Law. Another main component of the other alliance did participate in the election under Martial Law while it was in power. Moreover, there was no mention of the point of withdrawal of Martial Law in their verbal discussions and the charter of demands they had submitted during the dialogue.

I have travelled from one corner of the country to the other. I have visited villages after villages and also mills, factories and farms. I have talked with the people from all quarters. I have talked to peasant and workers, to students and the youth, women and professionals.

They want social peace and economic progress. They have said one of the main aims of our great independence struggle is a democratic state system. They want elections. They have agreed with me that there is no alternative to elections for transition to democracy. Those who talk of transition to democracy

by avoiding participation in the polls, in fact, want to push the country in a state of chaos. It is my belief the countrymen, and the democratic loving political parties and organisation will not allow our dear motherland to fall prey to such a state of chaos and anarchy.

Four years of Martial Law is going to be completed. It is no longer desirable that Martial Law to continue for whatsoever reason. I have already said election will be held by the first half of the current year. We have decided to hold the Jatiya Sangsad election in the last week of April this year by honouring the will of the people and our commitment. The Election Commission will announce the election date and schedule.

The Opposition parties had demanded holding of Janya Sangsad elections first. Giving due honour to their opinion I had arranged Jatiyo Sangsad election on April 6 last year. With the sincere wish that opposition parties should participate in the polls with honour, this time too we have decided to hold the Jatiya Sangsad election first.

We had taken certain significant steps last time so that the opposition could contest the election with confidence. Their main conditions were fulfilled. This time too we are ready to take similar steps. I hope all opposition parties will participate in the coming polls. It is my belief and confidence that all concerned will extend total cooperation to my sincerity and endeavour to take the country to a democratic path so that well collectively could establish a solid base for a democratic system for the future generation. Since the independence till today the path of establishing and maintaining a democratic system was never smooth and easy.

Democratic efforts have time and again been hindered by indiscipline and anarchism that stemmed from lack of democratic political organisation and strong, economic foundation. I have told it before and I assure again all steps would be taken to ensure that polls are held in a free and fair atmosphere.

I declare that if the Opposition parties join the election the following measures would be taken from the date of filling nominations under the polls schedule of the Election Commission:

- 1) Any member of the cabinet who will want to contest the polls will have to resign.
- 2) All Zonal Martial Law Administrators and their subordinates and offices will be abolished;
- 3) All Martial Law courts will be abolished.

My dear countrymen,

Party is above any individual and the country is above the party. I will expect we will forget all contradictions and malice and rise above all difference of opinion and will not fail to show respect to the country, to the nation and to the people and their democratic values and above all to the spirit and

aspirations country towards a prosperous future and to mobilise the ten crore people towards that goal. Today we need national unity, consensus and national unity.

I want to call upon all political parties and the people, let us come forward to prove before the world through peaceful transition to democracy through the elections, that we are firm in our resolve and unshakable in our national unity.

Political Parties, Leaders React

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Different political organisations and leaders in the reaction to the President's address to the nation on Sunday evening said the address had frustrated the whole nation and it failed to reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people.

Bangladesh Wami League, Bangladesh Nationalist Party, Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League, Jamaat-e'Isami students Fronts of these organisations brought out a number of processions in different parts of the city protesting the President Ershad's address to the nation on Sunday evening. The processionists chanted slogans opposing the holding of elections under Martial Law.

The 15-Party alliance in its immediate reaction to the address of President Ershad on the Jatiya Sangsad Elections said on Sunday night that the Presidents address to the nation is unclear incomplete and did not reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people. The alliance observed that his statement regarding the election to Jatiya Sangsad was inconsistent with the demands of the alliance. The alliance made it clear that they were ready to participate in a meaningful election to be held in accordance with the demands of the alliance.

A spokesman of the alliance said that they were determined to realise their demands through movement.

The 15-Party alliance gave its reaction at a meeting held on Sunday night with Seikh Hasina in the chair.

Awami League President Sheikh Hasina said in her reaction that there was no reflection of the hopes of the people in the President's address and it was incomplete and unclear. She said that it was clear from his address that the President was not keen to hold a meaningful election and did not say any objective things in his speech.

Sheikh Hasina said that she made her demands clear in the rally on February 24 which had not been reflected in the President's address and those had been ignored, she lamented.

The Awami League chief said that her party was keen to go to polls and for that a congenial atmosphere must be created. She also said that the elections must

be meaningful. Sheikh Hasina said that farcical elections are being held at the cost of huge money. But those elections failed to fulfill the hopes and aspirations of the people, she added Sheikh Hasina said "we want an election in which hopes and aspirations of the people would be fulfilled and establish the rights of the people. She expressed her determination that the movement for holding the elections after fulfilling 5-point demand would continue.

The BNP and seven-party alliance leaders were in meeting and they could not be contacted for their reactions till the writing of this report.

Mirza Golam Hafiz Senior Vice President of BNP was, however, available. He said that the President's address had frustrated the nation and it was not acceptable to his party. He said that his party and the seven-party alliance demanded resignation of the government and it was not conceded in the speech. He said the free and fair election was not possible under the present government as the President himself was partisan. He said the movement for ensuring a free and fair polls would continue.

Mushtaque's Apprehension

Former President Khandaker Mushtaque Ahmed said that there was no alternative to elections. But he said for establishing a representative government the elections must be held free from government influence. He regretted that there was no indication in the President's address that the elections would be held free from government influence. He said President Ershad had lost his credibility following the postponement of elections thrice and non-fulfillment of his commitments in political dialogue. Therefore he said it was not possible to expect a free and fair elections under this Government. He said Jatiya Oikya Front would go ahead with its civil disobedience movement.

Mr Abul Bashar and Mr Rashed Khan Menon President and General Secretary of Bangladesh Workers Party and Mr Shahjahan Siraj and Mr Hasannul Huq Inu in separate statements denounced the President's address and said his speech would further deteriorate the political situation in the country. They said that there was no indication of holding the elections under a neutral government and any elections to be held to fulfill the blue print of the Government.

Kazi Kader, President of Bangladesh Muslim League in his reaction said that it was frustrating for the whole nation and there was no assurance in the speech that the elections would be free and fair. He said that if the free and fair elections were not held Muslim League would not participate in the elections.

President of Janadul former Minister Mr M. A. Haque said the address is totally frustrating for the whole nation. He said that the measures announced by the President in his speech would not ensure a free and fair elections. He regretted that even the President had not ensured the pre-March 1985 situation. He said the political ministers under the present situation would influence the elections by misusing their official power. He also said that President had not announced his neutrality in the elections which was the demand of the whole nation.

BSS adds: The Jativo Party Parliamentary Board at a meeting on Sunday expressed the hope that the opposition political parties would play its due role in the transition to democracy from Martial Law by participating in the election.

Congratulating President Ershad for his address to the nation the JPPB meeting said the President had once again proved his sincerity to hand over power to the public representatives through election. The President also assured to take all possible measures by the Government for holding free and neutral election by creating congenial atmosphere. In fact the President had accepted once again all the demands of the Opposition and urged the Opposition to participate in the election.

The President of Jativo Jubo Sanghati and Deputy Minister for Youths and Sports Sheikh Shahidul Islam and Sanghati's General Secretary Mr Saifur Rahman hailed President Hassain Mohammad Ershad's address to the nation which they said would help contribute to the establishment of democracy.

They in a joint statement urged the people including the youths to extend cooperation for the success of the President's programme for transition to democracy from Martial Law.

/9274
CSO: 4600/1535

BANGLADESH

DETAILED SCHEDULE FOR ELECTIONS ANNOUNCED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

Election schedule

Elections to the Parliament will be held throughout the country on April 26 next says a Press release of the Election Commission, reports BSS.

In a Gazette notification, issued on Sunday the Election Commission has called upon the electors to elect a member from each of the 300 constituencies of the Parliament. The Commission has also announced detailed schedule of the elections in the same Gazette Notification as follows:

- A. Filing of nomination papers with the returning officers : 22nd March, 1986. (Saturday)
- B. Scrutiny of nomination papers filed : 23rd March, 1986. (Sunday)
- C. Last date of withdrawal of candidature : 1st April, 1986. (Tuesday)
- D. Polling date : 26th April, 1986. (Saturday)

The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr Justice Chowdhury A. T. M. Masud has assured a free, fair and impartial election and sought the co-operation of all for holding the elections in a peaceful atmosphere.

It may be mentioned here that the Election Commission, in a Gazette notification, issued on September 20, 1984 has published the final list of all the 300 constituencies of the seats of the Parliament. The Election Commission is also taking other measures for holding the elections as per above mentioned schedule.

/9274
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IRAN

EMIGRE PAPER ANALYZES NEW OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED BY REGIME

London KEYHAN in Persian 20 Feb 86 p 2

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] Three years ago, when the offensive operations called Al-Fajr (The Dawn) began, the official propaganda agency responsible for the war declared that "this is the last military operations" to bring the Iraqi regime to its knees.

But there was no dawn. Al-Fajr was not the last operation. It was from the second major operation that they began numbering Al-Fajr's. The latest offensive being number eight in this long war.

Mir Hosein Musavi, prime minister of the regime says that this war will be continued even if it is going to last twenty years. Twenty more years!

In this day and age, where war technology and deadly weapons have given new meaning to the expression "superkill" in military and political vocabulary, it requires above normal imagination to think of the casualty figures and destruction that such a war will cause above and beyond present disasters.

It should be noted that the two regimes are using weapons, not made by them, to take the lives of each other's youth. The oil money and manpower come from Iraq and the Islamic Republic, but the weapons come from others. The Prophet of Islam could not imagine in his wildest dreams--that one day, two Moslem nations, with such ruthlessness, could kill and butcher each other.

What Khomeyni has been doing to Iran and Islam have not been done by any foreign enemy or heretics.

Similarly, the profits of this devastating war for weapons manufacturers and arms dealers--legal and illegal--have been one of the most valuable.

It does not take great insight to see that behind their grim faces the leaders of many countries are indeed happy with this situation. And it is not surprising that the mass media in those countries, from time to time, work on the egos of Khomeyni and Saddam Husayn.

Propaganda in these countries visibly shift its positions according to their political pendulum with respect to this war between two neighboring and brother countries.

One day the Islamic Republic seems so powerful that the "genie" of the revolution covers great distances and swallows everything from Basra to Jerusalem.

The next day, the armies of Iraq become so well-trained that they can withstand not only pressures of armies of the Islamic Republic, but any other aggressor as well.

One day both regimes must say farewell to power and leave. The next day, the ayatollah falls and Husayn remains. But then, a while later, Saddam's fate is hanging by the skin of his teeth and as far as the imagination can stretch, it is the ayatollah's regime that lives through the centuries and time.

These tricks and propaganda ploys of the western media are done quite expertly. This is a fact deserving to be noted but not to be grieved over because their place of moral values, in the politics of those countries which are considered heavy weights in the international game, has been empty for quite some time.

But we should grieve over the fact that our people, their ears turned on foreign radios and their eyes locked on foreign publications, believe all of this and consider the information "good-as-gold." This is an important front one in which Iranians must combat in a long and revealing war.

The harsh reality is that Iraq can never defeat Iran. It cannot even occupy a small part of our homeland for a very short time.

Another harsh reality is that the Islamic Republic cannot defeat Iraq, either. The war policy is being pursued--aside from the stubbornness of the ayatollah--because its leaders lack the ability and knowledge of running the country. The saber-rattling on the front, which is costing the lives of thousands of youth and wasting billions worth of our country's wealth, is only a cover for this internal weakness.

The Islamic Republic, as much as it is a "killer-cancer" for Iran, can hardly be considered troublesome for the powers that are weary of Iran or Iraq becoming powerful.

If we were to choose only one statement made about this war as the nearest to the truth it would be Dr Kissinger's words who said: "It is a pity that there cannot be two losers in this war."

This wish has been the cause for the selection of two completely different political tactics concerning this war by the Islamic Republic and Iraq. The Islamic Republic has tried to avoid to internationalize the war and has concentrated all its power to destroy Saddam Husayn. Iraq, on the other hand,

tries to internationalize the war and drag in others to confront the Islamic Republic.

Despite all this, neither has Saddam been brought to his knees nor has the war been internationalized.

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PAKISTAN

GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF NEGLECTING NATIONAL PROBLEMS

Lahore, NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Ibnul Hasan: "The Same Old Ineffective System"]

[Excerpts] Traditionally, all prime ministers in Pakistan have been presidents of the ruling party. Our political structure never gets out of the four walls of the national and provincial legislative assemblies. Each government passes on the management of the country to the hands of bureaucrats and the opposition after it has finished its quota of time for ruling the country. Each government uses the police, with their sirens and whistles, and fear of the army to rule the common people from Olympian heights. The problems in the country multiply with each government and these problems are blamed on the people. This relationship is never changed. Whenever a national problem is discussed, the government complains about its limited resources and tells us that solutions to these problems will require a long time and asks us to be patient. Time passes, months change into years and our patience is exhausted. Nothing happens in any province or city or village. However, new problems show up! Life becomes harder, faith in government decreases and hate for it increases.

Eight years passed without any elections. During the martial law rule, we talked a lot about solving our national problems. The government, however, made politics its number one issue. A martial law regime is considered revolutionary. It has no fear of any court, neither has it to please a parliament. It is neither accountable to the people nor does it have any restrictions. People had hoped that during the martial law regime there would be cleaner cities, paved roads, protection by an efficient police force, a better-organized bureaucracy, smooth running traffic, better-managed educational institutions and an end of all corrupt practices. It did not happen, however. If such reforms are possible during a martial law regime, would not we call it an ideal form of government? After 8 years under the blessings of a martial law government, we should have been convinced of its efficiency [provided there was any]!

Our hopes were raised again when our own representative sat in various assemblies after 8 years of martial law. Our prime minister is known to be an honest and sincere man so, once again, we began to hope for the aforementioned improvements that the martial law regime failed to make because

it was not a representative government. But between March and December 1985, all our government did was pass the Eighth Amendment and Political Parties Act. There appears to be no obstacle in getting luxury items for our ministers. Whatever they want is provided from our national resources. No attention is given to national problems. Charity, for them, begins at home! Of course, the biggest national problem they had was martial law. How could they do anything until this problem was taken care of? As if martial law had tied our new government's hands. As long as there was martial law no public welfare project could be implemented, no law could be passed and no plans could be made! By the grace of God, martial law was lifted on 30 December and the labor pains started. A new Muslim League was born and the whole government got busy with mothering it. Let us see when this government decides to do things that it actually should be doing.

How will these projects be identified? Some progress in this direction has been made. In other words, some commissions have been appointed. This system of commissions is well known. These commissions meet often, money is spent on travel and per diem of the members, seriousness and sincerity of the government is communicated and then reports and recommendations are published. Each commission requires a year or more to do its work and when a report or recommendations from a commission are sent to the government, it is too busy even to read them. The prime minister and cabinet members do not have time to study these reports. Even reviewing such reports requires certain skills. The policy here is that anyone who disrupts our comfort is our enemy! These commissions do not offer any panacea. They present the same old unrealistic recommendations. This way nobody is hurt. Every person gains something. They can have their cake and eat it too!

The main purpose of establishing commissions is to gather information. What hidden information is there that the government cannot see? What problems are there that any person cannot point a finger at? The real purpose of commissions is just to give some consolation to the people. The problems, of course, are not solved due to lack of resources! We need resources to eliminate graft. If we have enough foreign exchange, minerals, electricity, water and technology, then we can eliminate graft and corruption! Similarly, we need these resources to streamline our traffic, pave roads, build bridges, stop crimes, bring peace to our educational institutions, stop smuggling, curb adulteration of foodstuffs and get rid of lawlessness! We cannot even reform our character and social structure without these resources!!! A daring man once said that a nation is not built by various resources but by strong-willed men with good decision-making skills and willingness to risk their lives. Such leaders do not make excuses; they mobilize the masses and change the character of the nation.

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CSO: 4656/49

PAKISTAN

BALUCHISTAN'S POLITICAL SITUATION EXAMINED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 1 Feb 86 p 2

[Report from Quetta by Aziz Bhatti]

[Excerpts] In Baluchistan the people have not taken kindly to the formation of the Muslim League by the ruling party. The members of the Assembly, who had to join the League because they were in the government, go about their jobs rather shame-facedly, as if they had joined the League for an ulterior purpose. Even the old Muslim Leaguers are not pleased. The ruling Muslim League has been nick-named "Government League" as if not accepted as the real Muslim League at all. Having seen the results of the experiments done with the Republican Party and the Convention Muslim League before this, the political observers do not pin much hope to the success of the Muslim League as the ruling party. Some of them state their doubts openly, saying that all political parties, including the Muslim League, are useless in democracy. One political circle thinks that the government is only trying to gain time in order to avoid the mid-term elections. Politicians are waiting for the decisions of the MRD to give them a clear picture of what the future holds for the country. The municipal elections will take place in 1987, and all parties, including the ruling Muslim League, will get 1 year to organize their own party elections. In this way the municipal elections can take place on a party basis, and the government will get an idea of how each party stands with the public. Thus the government will be able to decide whether or not the mid-term elections should be allowed to take place. Even if the government insists on having the municipal elections on a nonparty basis, it will not be difficult to assess the extent of public support for each political party.

In Baluchistan the political parties included in the MRD have started their activities. The parties whose offices had been sealed have broken the seals and opened the offices. The parties whose offices have not been re-opened are starting new ones. When the political parties were banned, the PPP had no office worth the name. They used the store-room of a hotel as an office. Now this party wants to create a provincial secretariat. The provincial office of the Tehrik-e-Istiqlal was situated in a building owned by Mr Khuda-i Noor which had been sealed. When Mr Khuda-i Noor demolished that building and got a new three-story one built, the matter of the sealed office was finished. Now Mr Khuda-i Noor is making a new office here. This building has even been named the "Istiqlal Building." Similarly, a leader of the Tehrik has named a building which is his

property "Istiqlal Bazar." Jamaat-e Islami changed its name when martial law was imposed. That is why its office remained open even during martial law. The Muslim League had no office at all. The NDP [National Democratic Party] and PNP [Pakistan National Party] had offices only in name. The workers of these parties preferred field work to working in offices. The office of the Jamiat-e Ulema-e Islam was housed in a school on Borari Road.

The new political activities include gatherings of the PNP which have been addressed by Mr Ghaus Bux Bazenjo. A joint meeting of the NDP, PNP and Pakhtunkhuva took place in Larkana to protest against the firing on the students in Zhob. Pakhtunkhuva and the NAP [National Alliance of Pakistan] had a meeting in Chaman. The Muslim League has not had a meeting. At present, the activities of these parties are limited to press conferences and making statements to newspapers. They may start other activities in the future.

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CSO: 4656/51

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ON PPP CONFLICT IN PUNJAB

Lahore NAWA-i-WAQT in Urdu 1 Feb 86 p 2

[Report from Multan by Sheikh Riaz Pervez: "Inner Conflicts of PPP"]

[Excerpts] It is rumored that Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar will soon be coming to Pakistan and that he intends to join hands with Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi to form a new political party in the country. He is said to be trying to find an excuse for breaking loose from the PPP. Mr Khar says that he wants to stay in the PPP, but must first deal with the group that caused a rift between him and Mr Bhutto during the latter's lifetime. He says that he wants to stay in the party with dignity. It is a fact that the PPP is and has always been a center of trouble and turmoil. As far as Mr Ghulam Mustafa Khar and Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi are concerned, we are getting all sorts of conflicting reports about them. Those who are opposed to these two leaders hold that since nobody under the age of 40 can become the leader of a ruling part, Miss Benazir Bhutto, who has just turned 33, wants the party to wait until she comes of age and can control the party as well as the government. She, it is said, has no confidence either in Mr Khar or Mr Jatoi. She wants the PPP to keep its present tempo as an opposition party until she herself has come of age and can head the government legally. The group opposed to Mr Khar and Mr Jatoi holds that these two leaders are not willing to accept this situation. They are not willing to wait for 7 years and do not accept Miss Benazir Bhutto as their leader. The supporters of Mr Khar say that the communists are in favor of "confederation" and that the Sheikh Rashid group is trying to use the Bhutto family for its own ideological purposes. The communists, it is claimed, are trying to use the PPP and the deplorable death of Mr Bhutto for the propagation of their brand of "scientific communism" in the country. Khar and Jatoi, it is said, are the chief obstacles in the path of these communists, who are trying to give the Bhutto family a bad impression of these two leaders. These communists, is it said, are trying to destroy all the democratic traditions in the country. They are spreading turmoil and lawlessness so that they may grab power by means of aggression as is the method of the communists the world over. Mr Khar says that these very people, with these very methods, caused the downfall of the PPP and the death of Mr Bhutto. Now, he says, this group, after destroying Shahnawaz Bhutto, are trying to sacrifice Murtaza and Benazir Bhutto at the same altar of their own ideology.

In this battle of accusations and counter-accusations, nobody seems to remember the purpose for which they are striving. The PPP has workers and votes in abundance, but its leaders, instead of leading it on the path prescribed by Mr Bhutto, are pulling it to their own separate goals. Each leader wants to use the remaining fatherless children of the Bhutto family for his own selfish purpose.

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PAKISTAN
The chairman of the Pakistan Banking Council has said that shifting the headquarters of government controlled banks to provincial and federal capitals was politically motivated. He also warned that moving the headquarters of any bank from Karachi to any other part of the country will have disastrous effects on the national economy.

BANKING URGED NOT TO POLITICIZE HEADQUARTERS LOCATIONS

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Feb 86 p 3

[Editorial]

[Text] Talking to newsmen in Lahore, the chairman of the Pakistan Banking Council, Mr M.R. Khan, said that the demand for shifting the headquarters of government controlled banks to provincial and federal capitals was politically motivated. He also warned that moving the headquarters of any bank from Karachi to any other part of the country will have disastrous effects on the national economy. This statement of the respected chairman is contrary to facts inasmuch as this demand has been voiced for years by the chambers of industry and commerce in Lahore, Peshawar, Faisalabad and Multan. This demand was made even in those days when political activity was suspended and even banned. The basic reasons for this demand are the practical difficulties and problems that industry and commerce all over the country face in obtaining loans and in having repeatedly to go back and forth to bank headquarters in Karachi.

These difficulties were acknowledged by the governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, Mr A.G.N. Qazi, in an address to the Lahore Chamber of Industry and Commerce only a few days ago. He disclosed that the additional powers that had been granted to regional officers of these banks had not been successful in alleviating the difficulties and that the people in industry and commerce who need loans still have to journey to Karachi. The respected governor also opposed the transfer of bank headquarters to other places. He said a proposal was under consideration to expand boards of governors of every bank under government control to ensure that at least one member of every board will be stationed in every provincial capital. The chairman of the Pakistan Banking Council too has referred to this proposal, but in view of the tradition of centralization which has become established and, in fact, entrenched, there is very little hope that, by acting on this proposal, a way would be found to rid the country's industry and commerce of the difficulties and frustrations. In this context, it would not be improper to ask the chairman not to look for political motivations behind a valid and increasing demand. It is in his capacity as a banker that he should examine this demand of industry and commerce from all over the country. He is not a politician and he should not involve himself in any kind of politicking. The real issue is the strengthening of industry and commerce and removing any difficulties and

frustrations in its way. Not to mince words, the point is that banks should advance loans in proportion to deposits from the regions. In this connection, the statistics issued by chambers of industry and commerce in Lahore and elsewhere in the country have remained unchallenged to date. Instead, the concerned interests have sometimes used the feeling of deprivation in Sind as a shield and, when this move does not work, they resort to such objections as would not be wrong to describe as politicking.

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PAKISTAN

AFGHAN REVOLUTION SAID SPREADING TO PAKISTAN

Karachi JANG in Urdu 10 Feb 86 pp 3, 14

[Article by Nafees Siddiqi]

[Excerpts] Geneva talks resume in March. Pakistan is hoping that Kabul will announce a timetable for departure of Soviet troops lest the Karmal government fall. Is the Karmal government really so weak? If we consider this question, then the situation appears like this:

Poor peasants who have been given land are now reaping harvests and they are armed to protect their possessions.

By repairing and beautifying masjids, the government is according respect to religious scholars. The religious preachers are now preachers of revolution, which, through them, has reached tribal areas.

Until a few years ago Afghanistan was among the most backward countries in terms of education, but today its literacy rate is over 70 percent.

Local educated youth have taken control of the state bureaucracy.

The Afghanistan army has assumed responsibility for the defense of the country. In 2 years, the presence of Soviet units will become unnecessary and it is quite possible that Karmal might surprise the world by unilaterally announcing a schedule for withdrawal of Soviet forces, or Gorbachev might make this announcement.

All these indicators point to the fact that it is not the Karmal government but the other side that is getting weaker. Difficulties are diminishing for the Karmal government but are mounting for the other side. Not much is needed to prove this.

Four years ago explosions used to rock the Kabul airport. Today peace reigns there and explosions take place near the Peshawar airport.

Four years ago, Karmal government used to complain that we were providing arms to its rebels.

Now it is we who complain that Pakistani rebels are being given arms.

A few years ago, the Afghanistan people used to come here to take refuge.

Today, Wali Khan, Koki Khel and Khan Abdul Wali Khan are cautioning people to flee to Afghanistan.

This brief analysis shows on which side difficulties are diminishing and on which side they are increasing. After this, is it necessary to say that the Karmal government is in no hurry for talks and the Soviet Union is not impatient for defeat? In my opinion, when in Geneva Gorbachev expressed a desire for change in the Afghanistan situation, what he meant was that the time for destabilizing Afghanistan is past and it would be best to stop the bloodshed. Americans interpreted it to mean that the Soviet Union is ready to capitulate. This could have been done deliberately. After all, what does America stand to lose if the conflict does reach Frontier Province? The Soviet Union, however, will get further bogged down. Just as, by compelling the Soviet Union to send troops into Afghanistan, America took Arab states into its fold, similarly America may now want to consolidate its influence over India and China by involving the Soviet Union in the Frontier Province. But it is not necessary that the Soviet Union act in accordance with American expectations. By strengthening the defenses of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is in a position to wait and would definitely do so.

On the one hand, by becoming part of a strong society and a strong government structure, a divided and tribal Afghan nation is emerging into a united and enthusiastic Pakhtoon nation. Not only this, but it has begun to convert to its side Pakhtoons from Pakistani tribal areas. On the other hand, by keeping people deprived of participation in national affairs, Pakistan is digging a grave for centralism. Across the Khyber, unity is growing while, on this side, unity is weakening. One should pity the understanding of those people who cannot see the dangers inherent in this situation. By holding demonstrations over an internal issue of Pakistan, Afghan refugees have given an inkling of the shape of things to come. Soviet and Afghan experts too must have taken note of it. These refugees are armed to the teeth, they have training and their spirit of holy war is at a pinnacle. A couple of Soviet or Afghan agents can take any sort of faction against any units of mujahidin near Peshawar and divert suspicion onto the citizens of Peshawar. After that, holy war will commence against them and, in the words of Wali Khan, they will be observed fleeing toward Tor Kham. By similar means, Israel had managed to murder half the population of Lebanon. If we keep on needling the Soviet Union, will they not try such a tried and tested move? If, God forbid, such a holy war erupts, then the entire capitalist structure will collapse. This is a very critical time. This is a very explosive situation. The present Afghan policy is a harbinger of very disastrous results. I sincerely request that the situation in the country be reviewed afresh and without any further delay so that unity may be brought about and all elements may join together to face the calamity which we have brought on ourselves. And this calamity is the Afghan issue. Even after recognizing the Karmal regime, this issue will be difficult to

resolve. This issue has become very tangled. By maintaining confrontation with the Karmal government, we will very soon get entangled in far bigger problems. Problems will rise, not only in the Frontier Province, but also in Sind, in Baluchistan, in Azad Kashmir, and these will be terrible problems. Those to whom Pakistan is dear and whose children's future is linked with this holy land, should become aware of these dangers and should try to save Pakistan. This is not the time when we can play games of the fifties.

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PAKISTAN

INDIA'S SINCERITY IN BEFRIENDING PAKISTAN DOUBTED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 11 Feb 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Rajiv Gandhi's Pakistan Visit"]

[Text] A reliable source in India informed us that Rajiv Gandhi will not be able to tour Pakistan as scheduled. According to this source, it is not possible for India to sign a peace treaty with Pakistan when it is providing help to Sikh extremists.

Knowing India's tendency to cry wolf when it comes to Pakistan, we are not surprised at this new development. India has always tried to find ways to avoid having peace in the subcontinent. Whenever Pakistan extended its hand for friendship, India had withdrawn its own at the last minute. The latest example of this tendency is the postponement of Rajiv Gandhi's proposed tour of Pakistan at a time when even Indian people admit the success of the recent cabinet level negotiations between the two countries. Actually, the young prime minister of India is procrastinating. The Indian government issued an outright denial when news of his visit to Pakistan was first published. After great difficulties, this trip was finally "confirmed" and he was expected here in February. Suddenly India remembered Pakistan's help to the Sikh terrorists.

The real reason causing the rift between the two countries is not "extremist Sikhs" or the "Kashmir problem" or the "atomic program." It is the 1000-year history of two religious groups. Neither Hindus nor Muslims can forget it. India's self-styled role as a "mini power" in this area has complicated this affair even further. It wants to coerce its neighbors into submission with the help of one superpower, the Soviet Union. The other superpower, the United States, has given India a long rope in the Indian Ocean because of its vested political and geographical interests. Several U.S. foreign affairs officials visiting Pakistan have hinted on this development. The recent Indo-United States pact for providing modern computer technology to India will also help India realize its dream of becoming a "mini power." India sees stable relations with Pakistan as a deterrent to realizing this dream. The truth is that Pakistan imagines in vain that India, which never recognized its existence, will ever be friends with it or keep a friendship pact if it signs one. The young prime minister of India also has some personal and family obligations in this area. He inherited his mother's tradition of hating Pakistan. He cannot be sincere in his efforts to befriend Pakistan. Pakistan also has

some responsibilities that it cannot ignore. India has annexed some Pakistani areas by force. Then there are our Muslim brothers whose treatment by the Indian government or the majority Hindus is something we cannot ignore. These are the major reasons deterrent to bringing peace to this subcontinent, and India is to blame for that.

Nobody can deny the need for peace. People in both Pakistan and India are suffering from poverty and backwardness. A country can progress only during peaceful times. But what is the price of peace? Being an Islamic country, we have different responsibilities. If we cannot follow Islamic decrees, we have to keep our national pride at least. We have to pass on our history to the next generation without any stigma attached to it. A power that does not even accept your existence will befriend you only to obliterate you. Let us prove to the world that Pakistan was established to last and thwart all attempt by any country to the contrary!

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PAKISTAN

WALI KHAN , TUFAIL MOHAMMAD SEEN SPREADING FACTIONAL STRIFE

Karachi AMN in Urdu 11 Feb 86 p 3

[Jumma Khan's column]

[Text] Khan Wali Khan, leader of the National Democratic Party, has made such remarks about the situation in the Frontier Province that the government as well as every patriot in the country should take note of them. He said: 1) The government is patronizing the Jamaat-e Islami. 2) The Jamaat misappropriates most of the money and military aid that the United States is giving for the Afghan refugees. The arms and ammunition sent by the United States are resold at a high price. 3) The Jamaat has joined the Afghan refugees in a sort of civil war against the people of the Frontier Province. 4) Arms are being collected and we (Wali Khan and his helpers) have decided to make an appeal to the people to form defense committees in every village in the region. 5) The Jamaat should be told to stop instigating the Afghan refugees to get involved in local politics. 6) The workers of the Jamaat are preparing "hit lists" of their opponents. "We will not," says Wali Khan, "live as slaves of the Jamaat. We shall fight back at every step."

Mian Tufail Mohammad, the leader of the Jamaat-e Islami has said in answer: A leader of the Frontier province has been frightened by the popularity of the Jamaat in the region and has started making crazy statements against Islam, Pakistan and Jamaat-e Islam. "These people," says Mian Tufail Muhammad, "have prepared a 'hit list' of those who believe in the Islamic way of life. They are blaming the Jamaat in order to hide their own evil intentions."

Before we pass judgment on this situation, we have to admit a few facts.

1) The government has been partial to the Jamaat-e Islami and the Jamaat has never said a word of criticism against the rule of General Zia. Even when General Zia said that, if circumstances allow, the mid-term elections may be held, Mian Tufail Mohammad had warned that any change in the form of government before 1990 would make Pakistan politically unstable. Which means that if General Zia is removed from power the country will become weak.

2) Jamaat-e Islami admits that it is receiving aid from the United States but has always denied any embezzlement, claiming that something is always

added to it before it is distributed among the Afghan refugees. Mr Wali Khan says that if one political party is permitted to receive dollars and arms from one super power, why can another political party not get arms and money from another power?

3) The media have been publishing news about the Afghan refugees becoming involved in the politics of the country. Mr. Wali Khan says that a state of tension can be seen in the province that can lead to a civil war. If nothing is done about it, says Wali Khan, he, with the people of the Frontier Province, would have to think about migrating to Afghanistan. It is hard to follow Mr Wali Khan's logic. How can he migrate to Afghanistan? His stand shows that he and his followers have a very weak position in the province. The total number of Afghan refugees in the province does not exceed two million, which is not even one-fourth of the population of the province. How can the twenty-percent refugees turn eighty-percent people out of the province? True, the refugees have arms and ammunition, but so have the people of the Frontier Province. There is scarcely a family there that does not possess arms. In such a case, if a minority commits the folly of starting a civil war, it cannot win against the majority in the province, especially when the Pakistan government will not watch it as a silent spectator.

4) Mr Wali Khan says that arms are being amassed in the province, and he has decided to ask the people to form defense committees at every level in the region. Here, again, his policy is hard to follow. On the one hand he says that he is thinking of leaving the country because of the possibility of a civil war; on the other hand, he is advising people to form defense committees everywhere. Does he intend to take part in the civil war and migrate in the case of defeat? It means that first the Frontier Province will be turned into Lebanon, then either the Afghan refugees will capture the province or the people of the province would migrate to Afghanistan. This argument is quite incomprehensible, but students of history and politics know that such things may happen. The Jews turned out the Palestinians from their homes who, despite the sympathy of the whole world, have not been able to free their homeland from the usurpers. When super powers get involved in such matters, they change the history of a nation and the geography of a country. It is quite easy for them to break big countries into small bits: Once Germany was one, now there are two Germanies. Once Korea was one, now there are two Koreas. Once Yemen was one, now there are two Yemens. Once Kashmir was one, now there are two Kashmirs. Once India was one, now it has been divided into three independent countries--India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Once Pakistan was one, now it has been split into two parts; the other part is called Bangladesh. Very few nations have succeeded in keeping the integrity of their countries after fighting a war of liberation from imperialism. The Vietnamese are one such example. They fought a war of liberty, first against the French and then against the United States, and finally succeeded in uniting North and South Vietnam into one country and one nation.

5) Mr Wali Khan is quite right in saying that the Afghan refugees should not be allowed to get involved in local politics and that they should be

prevented from becoming aggressive. But, instead of talking to the Jamaat, Mr Wali Khan should make an appeal to the government. The government should be alerted to the danger of the Afghan refugees' becoming aggressively involved in the politics of the province.

6) Mr Wali Khan says that the workers of the Jamaat are making hit-lists of their opponents, while Mian Tufail Mohammad says that the followers of Mr Wali Khan are making such lists and that they are forearming themselves by bringing these charges against the Jamaat. Whatever the truth may be, it shows that when two factions are suspicious of each other, they will make hit-lists and ultimately a dangerous situation will arise. Mr Wali Khan has said that when the people of East Pakistan were fighting for Bangladesh, the Jamaat assassinated one hundred radicals in a night. But, he went on to say, the Frontier Province is not East Pakistan. The Bengalis, he said, fought with sticks while the people of the Frontier would fight with guns. Mr Wali Khan has warned the Jamaat that it would be paid in its own coin at every step. The Jamaat, too, can answer in the same manner. Now the situation is: Should the people of the Frontier Province be left at the mercy of those two warring factions? Will the government and people of Pakistan do something now or wait until the flames of civil war have started to consume everything in that province?

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PAKISTAN

MARTIAL LAW BLAMED FOR SIND PROBLEMS

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Feb 86 p 3

[Editorial: "The State of Affairs in Sind"]

[Text] In several resolutions passed by the Majlis-e Shoora [advisory council] of Sind's Jamaat-e Islami, the martial law regime was blamed for increased prejudice, lawlessness, drug addictions and general unrest in Sind. While we cannot agree totally with these accusations, there is not much we can disagree with either. We have to admit that the third martial law of Pakistan was also its longest. General Zia ruled for 8.5 years, first as the chief martial law administrator and later as president. Had he wished, the country would have prospered. Instead, all Sind experienced was an increase in prejudice, drug addiction, prostitution and depredation of character. Peace and harmony has all but disappeared. Both urban and rural areas are suffering from lawlessness and organized crime. Incidents involving murder, robbery and kidnapping are common and occur in broad daylight. The bureaucracy and the police appear to be helpless. The newly elected government does not seem to have much success in rectifying these problems. New problems appear while the government is trying to solve one. The province is in a critical situation. The legacy of 8 years of martial law is hard to get rid of. Of course, there were problems even when General Zia implemented martial law.

People, however, had welcomed the new regime hoping for things to improve. Zia had made several promises, including holding elections within 90 days and establishing a democratic government. However, people saw the martial law regime evolve gradually into a strong and permanent government. Workers became nervous when trade unions were banned. Restrictive measures such as the ban on student organizations, elimination of political parties and censorship of newspapers soon followed. These restrictions and increase in daily problems made people feel persecuted. The bureaucracy had a heyday during the martial law regime. The whole government was running according to its wishes. Bribery and graft set new records while Sindhis' feeling of deprivation continued to increase. National and local leaders tried sincerely to advise against putting too much faith in the bureaucracy, but the government and its lackeys ignored them. This restlessness and the feeling of deprivation provided a golden opportunity for anti-Islamic and anti-Pakistan elements who wanted a secular or socialist government in Pakistan. Had General Zia held elections within 90 days and transferred power to an elected government

and not made political parties inactive, these anti-social elements would not have had the opportunity to lead our people astray. The army and the bureaucracy just cannot understand the people's problems. Political leaders and elected representatives understand these problems, know how to solve them and also can make unpatriotic elements ineffective. Even General Zia has admitted the shortcomings of the martial law regime. He agreed to lift martial law by the end of '85 when Prime Minister Junejo declared in his first national address that a democratic and a martial law government cannot exist side by side.

Now the question arises: How can we alleviate the sad state of affairs in Sind? The present government cannot solve all those problems identified by Jamaati-e Islami's Majlis-e-Shoora. The bureaucracy and its lackeys still want to run the government the way they have been running it for the last 8 years. Prime Minister Junejo and Chief Minister Ghaush Ali Shah have to follow the advice given by political leaders and reform the bureaucracy if they are sincerely and seriously interested in helping the people of Sind.

7997/13252
CSO: 4656/55

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